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The St. Charles Hotel: New Orleans Social Center, 1837-1860

By MARTHA ANN PETERS

holds the M.A. degree from Tulane University and is presently a member of the staff of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.

At the time the St. Charles Hotel was constructed, New Orleans was entering upon the period of its greatest growth and expansion prior to the Civil War. Each year thousands of planters and merchants from the lower Mississippi Valley came to the city to transact business and to enjoy the gay social life. Besides these, there were the visitors from other parts of the United States and foreign travelers whose curiosity was aroused by the city which had the cultures of the old and new worlds existing side by side. The businessmen of New Orleans made every effort to encourage these visits and to make the stay of the visitors as happy and as comfortable as possible by providing, among other things, luxurious hotel accommodations. When the St. Charles, the first of these luxury hotels in New Orleans, was opened in 1837, it quickly became the scene of endless business and social activities. During the years that followed, it was the favorite place for balls and banquets, and the meeting place for planters, politicians, travelers, and businessmen.[1]

Of all of the various types of people who stayed at the St. Charles, it was the visitors who wrote down their impressions

[1] John G. Speed, "The Old St. Charles," *Harper's Weekly, a Journal of Civilization* (62 vols., New York, 1857-1916), XXVII (1894), 450; Jefferson Williamson, *The American Hotel, An Anecdotal History* (New York, 1930), 9, 99; James Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States* (London, 1857), 151.

that give the picture of the style of living at the hotel its color and interest. During this ante bellum period, travelers representing a variety of experience and purpose stayed at the St. Charles and many of them recorded their opinions and impressions in accounts which were published.

Among the accounts left by Americans, those of Henry Benjamin Whipple, who later became a bishop in the Episcopal Church, and A. Oakey Hall, who later became mayor of New York, are outstanding. Whipple was a young man traveling in the South for his health when he stayed at the St. Charles in 1844 and the diary he kept while on this trip gives one of the most detailed descriptions of the life in New Orleans. During the time Hall was in New Orleans in 1846 and 1847, he wrote many sketches of life in the city which appeared in the *Literary World*, the majority of which he later used in his book, *The Manhattaner in New Orleans; or, Phases of "Crescent City" Life*. Both these men spoke favorably of the St. Charles; Whipple thought it "decidely the best and largest hotel in the United States," and Hall believed that the hotel would be considered a palace in St. Petersburg, a college in Boston, and an exchange in London, but that in New Orleans it was all three—"a palace for creature comforts; a college for the study of human nature; and an exchange for money and appetite." From the exterior of the building, however, he thought one would "never imagine it a hotel unless waggishly told it was builded by Barnum."

In contrast to the praises of Whipple and Hall was the observation of Frederick Law Olmsted, who traveled extensively in the South, that the St. Charles was a "stupendous, tasteless, ill-contrived and inconvenient" hotel.[3]

Foreign visitors also found much to admire and much to criticize about the St. Charles and New Orleans. Some of this criticism was the result of the great difference between the American and European style of living, and they sometimes

[2] Lester B. Shippee (ed.), *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844* (Minneapolis, 1937), 195; A. Oakey Hall, *The Manhattaner in New Orleans; or, Phases of "Crescent City" Life* (New York, 1851), 8.

[3] Frederick L. Olmsted, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States in the Years 1853-1854, with remarks on Their Economy* (2 vols., New York), 1904, II, 229.

found it difficult to appreciate the gregariousness and glitter and ostentation of life in an American hotel.[4] This difference was reflected in the account of James Silk Buckingham, who, while in New Orleans, was interested in raising funds for a seaman's home. Although the *Picayune* referred to him as a "prince among princes of humbug,"[5] he was widely traveled and in a position to judge hotel accommodations from first-hand experience. Buckingham thought the St. Charles the "largest and handsomest hotel in the world," but he also believed that American hotels were "too large for comfort, and . . . adapted only to the American mode of living." Anyone accustomed to the "quiet privacy and superior comfort of private life in England" would not find life in an American hotel too agreeable.[6] Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer had very much the same opinion. The grand "saloon" was a place she would never go if she could help it, and the meals, which she couldn't eat without making herself ill, were at hours that were inconvenient. Then when she found that she would have to pay $3.00 per day for this magnificence, and a small, cold room on the third floor, she soon moved to a private boardinghouse.[7]

One of the most critical of the visitors, however, was Ebenezer Davies, who with his wife, stayed at the St. Charles in 1848. Davies was an English minister whose abolitionist sentiments were so strong that he found it difficult to find anything good in the South. He was the fussy type of Englishman who came to observe American life and was annoyed when the proprietors of the St. Charles did not show him the personal deference he felt he deserved. The idea that his wife would have to wait in one of the public rooms while he went to see about accommodations was almost more than he could bear. He was taken to the bar to see the "high-priest

[4] Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union, Fruits of Manifest Destiny, 1847-1852* (2 vols., New York, 1947), I, 48; Williamson, *The American Hotel, 39.*

[5] New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* August 26, 1841.

[6] James S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (2 vols., London, 1842), I, 331, 336.

[7] Fredrika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World, Impressions of America* (2 vols., New York, 1854), II, 195.

of the establishment" who merely handed him a book to sign without verbally answering his question about rooms. After signing, he again asked about accommodations and then the "taciturn host . . . with manifest reluctance, took the cigar out of his mouth, and said he had only one room to spare, and that was at the top of the house." Davies accepted, however, and then went in search of his wife. Because they did not like to join the other guests in the public dining rooms, they had their meals served in their room, but the serving was "miserably done." The St. Charles neither suited the taste nor the purse of the Davies' and they were glad to leave. Nevertheless, Davies grudgingly admitted that it was a "magnificent concern."[8]

Not all the English visitors reflected this critical attitude, however. Both Matilda Houstoun and Charles Mackay reveal, in their accounts, an urbane and cosmopolitan attitude toward American life. Mrs. Houstoun and her husband, traveling aboard their private yacht, had made it a rule not to sleep elsewhere, but they had heard so much about the St. Charles and its accommodations that they decided to spend a few days there in order to see these wonders with their own eyes and judge for themselves. Mrs. Houstoun found that the only hotel with which she could compare the St. Charles was the "Les Princes" at Paris. At the St. Charles she could almost fancy herself "in that region of luxury, good living, and civility."[9] This same desire to see for himself led Mackay to visit America and to stay at the St. Charles while in New Orleans. Mackay was able to see the United States with an unprejudiced eye and to express his opinions without bitterness or sarcasm. During the twelve days that he stayed under its "hospitable roof," which he thought had the "style and appearance of the Palace of the King of Belgians at Brussels," he observed and enjoyed its animated scenes of life.[10]

[8] Ebenezer Davies, *American Scenes, and Christian Slavery: A Recent Tour of Four Thousand Miles in the United States* (London, 1849), 15-17, 21-22.

[9] Matilda Houstoun, *Texas and the Gulf of Mexico* (2 vols., London, 1844), I, 142, 163.

[10] Charles Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America: or, Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada, in* 1857-8 (2 vols., London, 1859), I, iv-v, 264-65.

The same attitude of Matilda Houstoun and Charles Mackay is also revealed in the writings of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, one of the earliest of the "Good Neighbors" of the United States. Sarmiento, at that time a rising Argentine political, literary, and educational leader, visited the United States in 1847. After seeing the St. Charles he was ready to believe in the republic, in democracy, in anything American, and to pardon the Puritans, even the one who ate tomato sauce with a knife. As a matter of fact, he thought these people who raised monuments in the dining room and who crowned the kitchen with such a cupola, should be pardoned for everything.[11]

So great was the variety of character to be seen among these visitors at the St. Charles that even some of them commented upon it. This variety was particularly to be found in the winter season when the city was "thronged with cotton speculators; agents from all parts of the Old and New World, Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics."[12] In remarking upon the type of people to be seen at the hotel, Whipple said there were those who had the appearance of intelligence and nobility, while others, possessing mustaches "peculiarly adapted to eating bean soup," had the appearance of dandies. He also saw, here and there, a gambler whose baggage was said to be "a pack of cards, a bowie knife & dirty shirt."[13] When Oakey Hall visited New Orleans he found the bar of the St. Charles the place to study human nature. In that large room with its panels filled with pictures of Venus and Bacchus, Iris drawing the rainbow, and Vulcan forging thunderbolts for a background, hundreds of people of all classes and conditions could be seen seated at the marble-top tables or clustered by the pillars and partaking of lunches and liquors. A "calculating and fortunate speculator, pleased with the results of his latest 'operation,' " was seated at one table. At another was the "honest citizen who went to take his lunch and have his

[11] Domingo F. Sarmiento, *Viajes por Europa, Africa i America, 1845-1847* (Chile, 1886), V, 354.

[12] Edward Sullivan, *Rambles and Scrambles in North and South America* (London, 1852), 217.

[13] Shippee (ed.), *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary*, 195-96.

social glass with a friend." Seated at the other tables were the passing travelers, country planters, and there in the corner was a "well-dressed and insinuating gambler." Here, too, came the "luckless wight who failed to pay his last week's board, and got a ticket of leave from his landlady."[14]

Such a variety of types and character could only be found in American hotels because they extended hospitality to all who could afford to pay the price, whereas the proprietor of the better European hotels assumed that only the noble or the great were entitled to luxury. In the United States, even those who could not afford to stay at the St. Charles in New Orleans, the Tremont House in Boston, or the Astor House in New York, could still enjoy the bar and the rotunda of the St. Charles at little or no expense.[15] During the hours from nine in the morning until eleven or twelve at night, the rotunda was a favorite place for the gentlemen to congregate because it always presented a scene of bustle and animation which, according to Mackay, could "be compared to nothing but the Bourse at Paris during the full tide of business." Seated there in comfortable chairs, they read newspapers, smoked, chewed and spit, and abused the abolitionists. All about them was the hustle and bustle of guests arriving and departing. Traveling bags and trunks were carried in or out by broad-shouldered porters, "consumptive looking men in fur caps, shawl neck-cloths, and greatcoats with broad buttons" made their way up to the clerk and requested a warm room on the first floor, and others paid their bill and threatened the porter if he forgot their umbrella or put a "dinge in their new castor." Ladies arrived, some of whom were most concerned over a favorite poodle or parrot, and ladies departed in a "state of nervous excitement, lest their new silk dress should be subject to rumple, or their Parisian bonnet be put in the slightest manner out of shape." And over the sounds of voices and baggage there was the tinkle of hun-

[14] Hall, *The Manhattaner in New Orleans*, 9-10; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, October 28, 1842; New Orleans *Daily Delta*, February 1, 1851.

[15] Williamson, *The American Hotel*, 9.

dreds of bells, touched in nearly every room of the establishment, summoning the maid or the porter or the waiter.[16]

According to James Stirling, an English visitor who arrived at the St. Charles in January, 1857, about one-third of the guests were permanent boarders who spent from three to five months at the hotel, another third were the planters and their families who came to New Orleans for the season, or part of it, to escape the monotony of their plantations, and the remaining third were businessmen and travelers. In the St. Charles, Stirling saw a representative picture of American life, of which the hotel was a "peculiar institution." He attributed this to several reasons, first of which was the "difficulty of procuring good servants, and the great expense connected with them." Besides being cheaper to stay at a hotel, the saving of temper and nerves was infinitely great. Hotel boarding, then, was a "refuge from ruinous and vexatious housekeeping." Another reason for permanent boarders at hotels was "the feebleness of the domestic tie between parents and children." As soon as a young man was able to support himself in any sort of fashion, he moved from home to the hotel where he was his own master, nearer to the bar, and where he could "more conveniently make love in the corridors." In Stirling's opinion this was bad in every sense because it destroyed all sense of domesticity and increased the bane of American life, excitement. Men were tempted to loaf in the lobbies and bars, and women were encouraged to spend their time in idle gossip. As for the children, they were blasé and corrupted before they left their nurse's apron strings. And Charles Mackay expressed much the same idea but in a more tactful manner. Certainly, a perusal of any New Orleans directory will show that a large number of people made the St. Charles their home. Others, such as Thomas Smith, lived at the St. Charles in winter and in Lexington, Kentucky, in summer.[17]

[16] Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America*, I, 264-65; Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States*, 151; New Orleans *Daily Delta*, February 1, 1851.

[17] Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States*, 148-54; Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America*, I, 37-46; *Pitts' and Clarke's Guide and Directory of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1842), 377, *passim*.

In addition to providing luxurious accommodations for transient visitors and permanent boarders, the St. Charles was also the scene of various business and political activities. Hotel guests and citizens of New Orleans could attend the real estate and slave auctions which were held every Saturday. At that time, excited purchasers made their bids as the slaves were put on the auction blocks which were at each end of the bar.[18] Then, in the evenings, around election time, political meetings were held in the rotunda, the parlor, or the large dining room. At one of these meetings on April 18, 1840, the Whig candidates for city representatives in the next legislature were nominated.[19] But political meetings were not the only meetings held at the St. Charles. In 1841 the sugar planters of many of the Louisiana parishes called a convention to meet at the St. Charles to "inquire into the causes of the extraordinary fluctuations" in the price of sugar.[20]

Besides meetings and sales, the visitor at the hotel had the opportunity to meet salesmen and agents for various business concerns. On occasion, the drawing room of the hotel became the display room of the salesmen who had a large variety of beautiful silks or other goods to show the ladies. And anyone who had a "sunken boat" he wanted raised could examine the model of the latest machinery for raising such boats which the "inventor and patentee" was exhibiting at the St. Charles. Or, an order for a new organ could be left with Henry Erben who was staying at the hotel. Even the citizen who had painful corns could find relief at the St. Charles, because Dr. E. Barinds was staying there in room No. 253.[21]

In the first months of 1840 the visitor at the St. Charles

[18] John S. Kendall, "Shadow Over the City," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXII (January, 1939), 147; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, February 11, March 24, 1860.

[19] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 19, 1840; New Orleans *Bee*, February 11, May 25, 1840.

[20] New Orleans *Bee*, January 6, 1841.

[21] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 13, 1843; May 5, 1842; May 22, 1856; April 22, 1842.

could join the crowds in the rotunda to witness the drawings of Caldwell, Oakey, and Pritchard's Grand Real Estate Lottery. There were ten thousand prizes valued at $2,000,000 and the tickets were only $20.[22] This lottery apparently continued only for a short time and then ceased to be news. At any rate, public sentiment against lotteries existed in Louisiana, because as early as 1833 the legislature had passed a bill forbidding lotteries, but it was not enforced. Then in 1841, similar legislation was again enacted with correspondingly little effect.[23]

During the time that thousands of visitors were in New Orleans for business and pleasure, the racing season was also in full swing. Racing had been revived in New Orleans in 1837, soon after the St. Charles was opened, and the hotel became the meeting place for racing men and their clubs. In 1842 the proprietors of the hotel, Mudge and Watriss, announced that they were giving a magnificent silver tea service "for the encouragement of the Sports of the Turf in the city."[24] This service, "chaste, massive and serviceable," went to the winner of the first day's race over the Metairie course. In the ten years that followed, the proprietors presented other tea services and sometimes a purse of $400.[25]

Political meetings and those of the Metairie Jockey Club and other organizations as well as lottery drawings and auctions all helped to add to the fame of the St. Charles. But the proprietors were wise men and they also catered to the tastes of the ladies, so that the hotel became the center of the social life in the city. The style of living at the St. Charles was such that "every whim of appetite or taste"[26] was gratified and the planters and their wives and daughters, leading a "life of constant publicity and gaiety," could forget

[22] *Ibid.*, January 1, 1840; New Orleans *Bee*, January 13, 1840.

[23] John S. Kendall, *History of New Orleans* (3 vols., Chicago, 1922), II, 484.

[24] *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine* (15 vols., Baltimore, 1829-44), XIII, 106; XIV, 101-104.

[25] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, March 15, 1840; February 23, March 11, 24, 1842; February 12, 1843; April 3, 6, 1849; November 24, 1850.

[26] Charles Lanman, *Adventures in the Wilds of the United States and British American Provinces* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1856), II, 201.

for awhile the seclusion of plantation life.[27] Although the ladies looked a bit seedy when they arrived in last year's clothes, the next day was another story, and for the duration of their stay the family lived at the rate of about five bales of cotton a week. While attending banquets and balls, concerts and lectures, they met well-known and famous people and enjoyed to the utmost the social life of the establishment.[28]

From the very first the proprietors of the St. Charles had the reputation for giving the most splendid banquets. At these feasts the long tables in the dining room "fairly groaned" from the weight of the costly and delicious foods and fine wines. Citizens and guests were first given a hint of what to expect on February 15, 1837, a few days before the formal opening of the hotel, when Gloyd and McDonnell, the first proprietors of the hotel, gave a "splendid set-out." According to the *Picayune*, the food left nothing to be desired and the punch "possessed all the qualities of Falstaff's sack, and had body, spirit and soul besides."[29] Throughout the years the banquets and smaller private dinners continued to be served in perfect style and in rooms appropriately furnished. Some organizations, as for example the New England Society, held their annual banquets at the hotel.[30] When the ceremonies of the inauguration of the Jackson Monument in the *Place d'Armes* were over, the officials and their guests sat

[27] Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America*, I, 265.

[28] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 30, 1857, requoted from *Knickerbocker*, May, 1857.

[29] *Ibid.*, February 16, 1837. The *Picayune* did not give the recipe for this punch, but Stanley C. Arthur, *New Orleans Drinks and How to Mix 'Em* (New Orleans, 1937), 84, included one for a St. Charles Punch in his book on New Orleans drinks which may or may not be the original.

1 teaspoon sugar
1 lemon—juice only
1 jigger port wine
1 pony cognac brandy
⅓ teaspoon curacao

Dissolve the sugar with a little water in a mixing glass. Add the lemon juice, the port wine, the cognac, and last the curacao. Fill the glass with fine ice and jiggle with the barspoon. Pour into a long thin glass, garnish with fruit, and serve with a straw.

[30] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, March 22, 1842; December 24, 1844; December 23, 1846.

down to a splendid dinner at the St. Charles.[31] Whenever such important visitors as Henry Clay or Zachary Taylor arrived in the city, banquets and receptions were given for them at the hotel.[32] Dinners and luncheons were also given for favorite actors or for distinguished foreign visitors.[33] Nor were the local and visiting firemen forgotten. After the fire of September, 1840, the proprietors gave a complimentary luncheon to the firemen to show their appreciation for saving the hotel from more serious damage, and on March 4, 1848, they gave a little "spread" in the rotunda in celebration of the eleventh anniversary of the New Orleans Fire Department.[34]

The dinners of the New England Society were sumptuous affairs. This society, founded in 1841 and composed of members who were descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, had as one of its objectives the relief of needy families of New Englanders in New Orleans.[35] After one of these epicurean dinners, when the popping of champagne corks had succeeded the rattle of knives and forks, Judge Henry A. Bullard proposed a toast to "The Proprietors of the St. Charles Hotel. —Grand in all their arrangements, but for Yankee dinners magnificent."[36] At another time, after such Yankee dishes as chowder and pork and beans had been consumed, several ornamental pieces of confectionary were placed upon the tables. These included representations of the "Landing of the Pilgrims, the Mayflower floating on icy waves, Bunker Hill Monument, the Temple of Liberty, with a statue of Washington in its vestibule, and the Liberty Tree."[37] Perhaps the most lavish of these dinners, however, was the one given at seven o'clock on December 22, 1846. Members of the society, accompanied by their guests, among whom were Henry Clay and Governor Isaac Johnson, sat down to a din-

31 *Ibid.*, February 10, 1856.
32 *Ibid.*, December 22, 1842; December 23, 1846; December 4, 1847.
33 *Ibid.*, March 3, 1847; April 16, 1842.
34 *Ibid.*, November 8, 1840; March 5, 1848.
35 *Ibid.*, March 22, 1842; December 23, 1846; December 24, 1856.
36 *Ibid.*, December 23, 1847.
37 *Ibid.*, January 19, 1856.

ner that would have tempted "the appetite of an anchorite." The proprietors, in their usual style, saw to it that "everything was done to a turn—the soups and gravies to a bubble —the cream roman punches frozen to a degree."

The menu for this dinner graphically illustrates the variety and choice character of the food served at one of these Epicurean banquets.

SOUPS

Redfish Chowder
Clam Chowder
Mock Turtle Soup
Rice and Tomato Soup

FISH

Broiled Pompano, stewed sauce
Broiled Rockfish, Hollandaise do.
Codfish Tongues and Sounds
Redfish, Normandy fashion
Baked Redfish, larded, port wine sauce

BOILED

Turkies and oyster sauce
Buffalo Tongues
Beef Tongues
Corned Beef and Cabbage
Calf's Head and brain sauce
Leg of Mutton, caper sauce
Fulton Market Beef

Westphalia Hams cooked in Champagne

COLD AND ORNAMENTAL DISHES

Boned Turkies
Salmon Salads
Lobster Salads
Cold French Pies
Chicken Salads

BAKED

Pork and Beans
Oysters in the shell
Yankee Chicken Pies
Fried Oysters

ENTREES

Noix de Veau en Bedeau, sauce tomate
Tourband de Filets de Volaille
Colelettes de Mouton á la soubise
Riz de Veau aux épinards
Pigeons en compote
Timbales de Macaroni á la Milanaise

Canneton á la puree de pois verts
Croustades garnis de Becassines
Cotelettes de Veau, piques á la jardiniere
Arcade de Volaille, garnis d'une Toulouse
Petits Bouchees á la Reine

Roasts

Tenderloin of Beef, larded, plain sauce
Tenderloin of Beef, larded mushroom sauce
Turkies with Giblet gravy
Haunch of Venison, jelly sauce
Bear, apple sauce
Stuffed Capons
Pig

Game

Mallard Ducks
Black Ducks
Teal Ducks
Canvass-back Ducks
Woodcocks
Snipes
Wild Geese
Brant

Vegetables

Green Peas, French fashion
Celery with brown gravy
Boiled Onions, plain sauce
Spinnage with cream
Croquettes of Potatoes
Turnips, butter sauce
Lettice with brown gravy
Carrots, stewed sauce
Cauliflower, plain sauce
Baked Cauliflower with cheese
Fried Parsnips
Baked mashed Potatoes
Green Peas, boiled plain

Pastry Ornaments

Monument of St. George and the Dragon
Sugar Vase with Kisses
Nougat Pyramid
Bunker Hill Monument
Chinese Light-House
Nougat Basket

Pastry and Fruit

Charlotte Russe
Blanc Manger
Champagne Jelly
Oranges á la Belle Veu
Pumpkin Pies
Plum Puddings
Mince Pies
Vanilla Meringues
Parisian Gateaux
Lafayette Cakes
Citron Soufflage
Oranges
Almonds
Raisins
Pine Apples
Apples
Grapes
Figs
Filberts
Bananas
Pecans

Vanilla Ice Cream . . . Roman Punch . . . Coffee

WINES

Champagne	Madeira
Claret	Sherry
Hock	Port

According to the *Picayune*, "ample justice was done to the dinner," and afterwards "toasts were given and drank [*sic*] with hearty good feelings."[38]

The St. Charles Hotel was the stopping place of General Zachary Taylor when he returned to the city in December, 1847. When "Old Zach," the hero of the Mexican War, was escorted from the Army Barracks to the city proper on December 3, he received one of the most prolonged and enthusiastic welcomes ever given by the city. Welcomed officially at the *Place d'Armes*, the party then marched to Saint Louis Cathedral where the *Te Deum* was sung and the bishop congratulated Taylor, who made a brief response. A parade was then formed and the General was escorted to the St. Charles Hotel where he retired to a private parlor to receive the respects of his friends and the citizens of New Orleans. That evening he attended a grand banquet at the hotel which was given him by the city authorities. Many toasts were given afterwards and then Taylor left to make the rounds of the theaters.[39] During the time of his visit the hotel was suitably decorated, and the night of the banquet the entire building was brilliantly illuminated. Large variegated lanterns were suspended between the pillars of the colonnade in front of the building and transparencies of the General were placed in front of the ladies' and gentlemen's parlors, and at other appropriate places. The one in front of the ladies' parlor was of Taylor in an old brown coat with the motto, "A little more grape, Capt. Bragg!" and the one in front of the gentlemen's parlor showed the General with the words, "I have no reinforcements to give you, but Major Bliss and I will support you!"[40] The next day Governor Johnson presented Taylor with a sword "which the state legislature had voted

[38] *Ibid.*, December 23, 1846.
[39] *General Taylor and His Staff* (Philadelphia, 1848), 276-79.
[40] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, December 4, 1847.

in recognition of his victories at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palms."[41]

Although many private dinners were attended by comparatively few people, they were conducted in an equally magnificent style. Such a dinner was given to George W. L. Howard, Earl of Carlisle and Lord Morpeth, on April 15, 1842. Lord Morpeth, who was described as "a good looking, Yorkshire gentleman, about forty-five years of age," with gray hair and ruddy complexion, found that the good he had to say about New Orleans had to be confined to the St. Charles Hotel, which he thought was the "most splendid of its kind."[42]

But prominent people were not the only ones who were entertained in the dining room of the St. Charles. Like other American hotels, the St. Charles catered to anyone who could pay the price, and it was therefore occasionally visited by people from the backwoods who were unfamiliar with its elegant style of living. When such a person arrived, the other guests, the servants, and even the proprietor himself, were not averse to having a little fun at his expense. And if the "green one" should turn the tables, then the situation was even more amusing. Such an event took place back in the days when E. R. Mudge was the genial host. On this occasion a Hoosier, who had arrived in New Orleans for the first time aboard a flatboat, marveled at the immense size of the white building and when told it was a hotel decided to go in for a bite to eat. He asked Mudge for some dinner and was told he could have it for a dollar. After thinking it over he said, "I'll go it. Here's your dollar, whar's my dinner?" He was then told to read the newspapers until the gong rang and then he could eat. When dinner was announced, he sat at a table with several gentlemen and as he ate his soup he noticed that the gentlemen each had a bottle of wine before him. He tried to help himself but each one told him, "This is private wine, sir." At last, enraged at being foiled and at the tittering of the waiters, he turned to the servant who had

41 Brainerd Dyer, *Zachary Taylor* (Baton Rouge, 1946), 254.

42 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 12, 1842; George W. L. Howard, *Travels in America* (New York, 1851), 61.

snatched his plate away for the sixth time and roared an oath at him, saying that if he took the plate again, "he'd be dod rod if he didn't draw his *picker* on him," and thereupon put his hand in his shirt front and showed the handle of a huge bowie knife.

From then on things went quietly until the dessert, a large "Charlotte Russe" pudding, was put on the table directly in front of the Hoosier. Immediately he drew it close to his plate, helped himself to a large portion, and thereafter kept a sharp eye on the pudding. When one of his neighbors attempted to help himself, he was informed, "No you don't, mister, that thar puddin' is *private pudding*," and later as he told the same thing to another, he "put his thumb to his nose and made sundry gyrations with his fingers. "You can't come it over me," he continued, feeling that a joke had been practiced on him. "Private wine, eh!" This was greeted with a loud burst of laughter, the gentleman at the table presented the Hoosier with several bottles of wine, and the "green one" soon became as "merry as a lord." As he left the table to return to his flatboat, the Hoosier said, "Well, old (hic) fellows, you (hic) couldn't (hic) it over (hic) me (hic) with your (hic) private wine." The glasses "fairly danced on the table" from the roar of laughter brought about by this final remark.[43]

These banquets and dinners were important functions in the social life of the St. Charles. Even the regular meals took on the air of a grand banquet during the winter season and when the ladies sat down to breakfast they were usually clothed in "full dress as for an evening party, and arrayed in the full splendor of their charmes and their jewellery [*sic*]." Dinner was a "repetition of the same brillancy" with the ladies being "more gorgeously and elaborately dressed" and displaying more pearls and diamonds.[44] After dinner the guests assembled in the parlors to enjoy evening concerts, lectures, or dramatic readings. The Monday evening dances

[43] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 31, 1849.
[44] Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America*, I, 265.

and the grand balls were other popular pastimes, along with the French opera and the theatres which were close at hand for all who wished to attend. These evenings usually ended with a supper of oysters and cold turkey, after which the guests retired.[45]

Soon after the opening of the hotel the managers began to present evening musicals for the entertainment of their guests and the public. The first concert, or "Soiree Musicale," was given in the rotunda of the hotel on Wednesday evening, March 1, 1837, under the direction of C. E. Horn.[46] The management continued to present the concerts for several years, and after that additional forms of entertainment were provided. On the evening of March 18, 1840, legislators, professors, editors, the oldest and wisest citizens, and the youngest and most beautiful ladies assembled in the gentlemen's parlor to hear the lectures of "Professor Espy" on the weather, which was reported to be "very *cloudy* yet perfectly clear." And later on, at popular request, the professor gave a series of lectures on the "Philosophy of Storms."[47]

The concerts and balls gave the ladies ample opportunity to show their finery. At these entertainments Charles Mackay reported that he saw some of the "fairest, wealthiest, and most beautiful daughters of the South, mingling in true Republican style with the chance wayfarer, gentle or simple, well-dressed or ill-dressed, clean or dirty."[48] Such a scene could not be found in any other city in the world. Henry B. Whipple also eulogized these entertainments, at which he said one could "see fine dancing, hear good music, and finish by partaking of a splendid supper." [49]

During the early years of the proprietorship of E. R. Mudge and Watriss, the exclusive *Bals de Société* were held at the St. Charles. The families boarding at the hotel thought that they were entitled to invitations and were quite dis-

[45] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 30, 1857, requoted from *Knickerbocker*, May, 1857.
[46] New Orleans *Bee*, February 25, 28, 1837.
[47] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, January 7, 9, 1838; March 20, 22, April 15, 1840.
[48] Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America*, I, 265-66.
[49] Shippee (ed.), *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary*, 195.

pleased when their applications for admission were ignored. They then informed the proprietors that unless the balls were discontinued "they would march bag and baggage out of the house." Mudge and Watriss, to avert such a catastrophe, requested the directors to hold their balls at another place.[50]

In order to provide enjoyable entertainment the proprietors initiated the custom of giving weekly dances and balls in honor of their guests. The invitations were entrusted to the ladies who were, at the time, residing at the hotel and who distributed them at pleasure among their friends. In that way they were able to "reciprocate the courtesies" which the citizens of New Orleans may have extended to them, and in a manner agreeable to both parties. Every facility of the house contributed to the elegance and luxury of these festivities and everything was "bestowed gratuitously by the proprietors, down to the sumptuous suppers" with which they concluded. Such entertainments, although expensive, contributed greatly to the "unrivaled popularity" which the hotel enjoyed.[51]

The "élite and beauty of the south and west" attended these enjoyable features of life at the St. Charles. It was at such social affairs that Sallie Carneal, the belle of Cincinnati, was wooed and won by that "gay widower," Glendy Burke, president of the Canal Bank. The annual visits to New Orleans to attend the French opera, the theaters, and the balls frequently resulted in the marriage of planters' daughters and "beaus of the City." Nor were these balls without their tragic incidents. While dancing with the beautiful Sallie Ward of Louisville, a young Kentucky lawyer named Kane, "just settled in New Orleans, took offense at the conduct of an English gentlemen whom he insulted on the spot." The incident resulted in a duel which was fought the next day, and Kane was killed.[52] Usually, however, the

[50] Louis F. Tasistro, *Random Shots and Southern Breezes* (2 vols., New York, 1842), II, 52.

[51] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, February 29, 1848.

[52] *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana* (2 vols., Chicago, 1892), I, 191.

balls were all fun and gaiety and lasted until long after midnight. Matilda Houstoun spoke of the dances and said that she was kept awake by the "stirring and animated sounds occasioned by a 'carpet dance,' with its accompanying giggling, fiddling, and floor shaking."[53]

The Washington's Birthday ball of 1837 was the first of the formal affairs at the St. Charles Hotel. The Washington Guards, a crack New Orleans military organization, were the hosts for this ball which was attended by more than 1,700 guests. The ladies at the ball were lovely, the music was "joyous," and there was plenty of fine food and wine.[54] Thereafter, grand balls were given every year during carnival and on other occasions. The preparations for some of these balls, which were sometimes attended by more than a thousand people, took several weeks, and the fancy dresses and costumes worn by the guests made them such brilliant spectacles that they attained nation-wide celebrity.[55]

According to the *Picayune*, the first masquerade held in the second St. Charles on February 9, 1853, was the "affair of the season, not only for the numbers of guests, but the variety of costumes, the brilliant appearance of the rooms, and the gaiety that reigned throughout the evening." The ladies' dining room, the two parlors adjoining it, and the ladies' parlor at the other end of the wing were filled with ladies and gentlemen in costume or in ball dress. Among those dancing to the polkas, mazurkas, quadrilles, redowas, and esmeraldas played by Brenner's band, were a Polish girl, a Bride, a Montenagrin beauty, a masked nun, a Psyche, a Syrian belle, a Neapolitan coquette, and a Greek maiden, with partners suitably dressed in the costumes of "a dashing *Garde Française*, a chevalier of the time of Louis XIV, a marquis of the time of Walpole, and a Figaro." Once during the evening two performers with tambourine and a hurdy-

[53] Houstoun, *Texas and the Gulf of Mexico*, I, 162.

[54] New Orleans *Le Courrier de la Louisiane*, February 21, 1837; New Orleans *True American*, February 25, 1837.

[55] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, April 30, 1857, requoted from *Knickerbocker*, May, 1857.

gurdy made such noisy music that the orchestra had to stop playing. While the dancers "whirled in gay circles from room to room," hundreds of spectators "stood in groups or moved about, or occupied the comfortable chairs and sofas, discoursing in light or grave terms, flirting, coquetting, chatting," and enjoying themselves. At midnight a march was played and the company moved across the rotunda to the immense dining room to sit down to a magnificent supper.[56]

A masquerade at the St. Charles, however, always taxed the ingenuity of the maskers to find the most beautiful and unusual costumes possible. The wardrobes of the French opera and those of the other theaters were drawn upon to supply beautiful costumes for some, and others used imaginations in the designing of unusual costumes. At the St. Joseph's ball on March 20, 1855, there was a quack medicine advertiser "who was clad in well made garments composed of printed and illuminated placards, in the center of which was the wearer's certificate of admission to the ball," a newspaperman "who was made all up of newspapers—a regular 'old files' " and a "Down-Easter" in a coat of cotton bagging.[57]

During carnival time the visitors who stayed in the St. Charles, besides being entertained by banquets and balls, also enjoyed the Mardi Gras processions that passed in front of the hotel. On these occasions, the hotel, from the portico steps to the gallery around the dome, was "thronged with persons of both sexes, struggling to obtain a sure foothold, so as to enjoy at leisure all the excitement of the . . . pageant." When Albert J. Pickett visited New Orleans during Mardi Gras he found every window of the "imposing and magnificent St. Charles" filled with "beauty and fashion." He was then convinced that New Orleans "contained more handsome ladies and fine looking men than any city in the Union," and that they were congregated before the St. Charles, the "best house in the world!"[58]

[56] *Ibid.*, February 10, 1853.
[57] *Ibid.*, March 25, 1855.
[58] Albert J. Pickett, *Eight Days in New Orleans in February, 1847* (Montgomery, 1847), 31.

Although the public entertainments at the St. Charles attracted the most attention there were numerous occasions when small affairs of a private nature drew extensive newspaper notice. Such was the case in 1859 when the daughter of Colonel Mudge, the proprietor of the hotel, married J. C. Reynolds of St. Louis. The wedding was held in one of the parlors in the south wing of the house and afterward there was a magnificent supper consisting of the "best and rarest viands of the market, the finest fruits of all climes, the choicest wines from the secret corners of his binns [*sic*], and . . . miracles of confectionery."[59]

The St. Charles, in final analysis, became the favorite antebellum New Orleans hotel because its proprietors made the life of their guests so pleasant and comfortable. It was not only the luxurious accommodations, sumptuous meals, brilliant balls, or the sales and auctions held there, but also the close attention to many of the smaller details of hotel living that made the St. Charles a favorite place. William Kingsford found the "courtesy of every member of the establishment" something to remember, particularly when he stopped at a hotel in Mobile and was snubbed by a porter.[60] When William Makepeace Thackery left the hotel he found that the "excellent landlord" had sent "two bottles of the very finest cognac" to his stateroom along with the baggage.[61] These were the things which added to the reputation of the hotel and made it the place to which visitors hurried first when they arrived in New Orleans. Lillian Foster found fifty persons waiting in the reception room but the "agreeable landlord" told her that if she would wait until night, he would try to find a room for her, and with such a promise, no one ever left the St. Charles to look elsewhere.[62]

[59] New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, January 16, 1851; New Orleans *Daily Delta*, January 16, 1851.

[60] William Kingsford, *Impressions of the West and South, During a Six Week's Holiday* (Toronto, 1858), 66.

[61] William M. Thackeray, *Roundabout Papers* (London, 1869), 178.

[62] Lillian Foster, *Way-Side Glimpses, North and South* (New York, 1860), 164.

An Adventurous Voyage to French Colonial Louisiana; The Narrative of Mother Tranchepain, 1727

By MARION WARE

who teaches history at Lamar State College of Technology.

EARLY IN 1727, a handful of excited nuns gathered at the Ursuline monastery of Hennebon, which lay against the rolling hills of southern Brittany less than a dozen miles northeast of the French port town of L'Orient, awaiting passage to the New World.[1] The exact destination of the religious was the infant but promising "city" of New Orleans, founded by the Louisiana colony's Governor Jean Baptiste le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville, a scant nine years before.[2] One outstanding need of the colonial capital on the Mississippi was for educational institutions and a primary purpose of the French *soeurs* was to found a school for girls whose parents did not wish to risk their daughters to a long and dangerous sea voyage back to the mother country or who could not afford their education in France.[3] Today the Ursuline Academy in New Orleans represents over two hundred years

1 Henry Churchill Semple (ed.), *The Ursulines in New Orleans and Our Lady of Prompt Succor: A Record of Two Centuries, 1725-1925* (New York, 1925), 10, 185. Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, *Relation du Voyage Des premières Ursulines à la Nouvelle Orleáns et de leur établissment en cette ville* (New York, 1859), 5.

2 (Mary Teresa Austin Carroll), *The Ursulines in Louisiana, 1727-1824* (New Orleans, 1886), 3.

3 Henry Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," Louisiana Historical Society *Publications*, II, part 4 (December, 1901), 25-26; Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 4-5; Roger Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939), 103; See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 225-226, for a description of New Orleans at the time in which Sister Marie Madeleine Hachard writes of a song that compares New Orleans to Paris.

of continuous educational service by dedicated Ursuline nuns in Louisiana. These first few nuns from France were the pioneers responsible for the founding of the Ursuline establishment in 1727.[4]

For Mother Superior Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, the leader of the pioneers, the successful establishment of the school in New Orleans was the fulfillment of a personal desire. Mother Tranchepain, a Protestant convert, had begun her novitiate in the Ursuline convent of Rouen in 1699, the very year in which colonists were first brought to Louisiana by Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville. Upon taking the religious habit, the future mother superior also took the name of Sister Marie de St. Augustin. For some time she had desired to devote her energies to missionary work but no opportunity arose until 1726.[5]

In that year, Father Nicolas Ignace de Beaubois, Superior of the Jesuits in New Orleans, wrote to Mother Tranchepain concerning the possibility of an Ursuline establishment in Louisiana. The Jesuit father was carrying out the request of Governor Bienville in seeking a religious order which would look after the military hospital and begin a girl's school in New Orleans.[6] Mother Tranchepain as well as two other religious from the monastery at Rouen happily accepted the proposals of Reverend Beaubois; many sisters from other institutions also applied, and a total of twelve sisters were selected by the end of 1726.[7]

Since the colony of Louisiana was under the control of the Company of the Indies in 1726, Father Beaubois arranged

[4] Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 5-7.

[5] Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 6-10; Mary Austin Cauvin, "The French Ursulines in Colonial Louisiana, 1727-1824," (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1939), 117; Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 55-56; Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, 103.

[6] Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 3-4, 9; Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 68-69.

[7] Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 9-10; Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 69. Different accounts vary as to the exact number of nuns who first came to Louisiana. See Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 6, for a list of 10 names not including that of Mother Tranchepain. See Heloise Hulse Cruzat, "The Ursulines of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, II (January, 1919), 8, fn. 3, for a list of 12 names.

for a "treaty" or contract to be drawn up between the nuns and the Company which stipulated that the Ursulines would take charge of the hospital and might begin a school in New Orleans. This "treaty" also made provision for their passage and the building of a monastery in Louisiana. It was duly signed September 13, 1726, in Paris and several days later the royal "Brevet" was issued giving the stamp of approval of King Louis XV to the proposed establishment.[8]

In January, 1727, at Hennebon, while waiting for passage, the nuns paid homage to Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin whose appointment as their Mother Superior was confirmed by the Bishop of Quebec.[9] Finally the day of embarkation arrived. Accompanied by the Jesuit Fathers René Tartarin and Etienne Doutreleau and Brother Philippe Crucy, the nuns boarded a ship called the *Gironde* on February 22, 1727. The next day the ship sailed from the port of L'Orient, taking five months to reach the mouth of the Mississippi River, July 23, 1727. By August 7th the small group of nuns had arrived in New Orleans.[10]

Soon the sisters began a free day school, the first of its kind in America, and a boarding school, held classes for Indian and Negro girls and women, and accepted a few orphans. The number of this latter group was greatly increased by the Fort Rosalie Massacre (1729) at Natchez. The Ursulines even took charge of the last group of girls sent to Louisiana in 1728 by the Company of the Indies to provide wives for young men, young girls called *filles à la cassette* because of the small trunk of wearing apparel provided by the com-

[8] Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 10; Cauvin, "The French Usurlines," 69. For translations of treaty, application to king for approval of treaty, and royal brevet giving approval see Cruzat, "The Ursulines of Louisiana," 5-8, fn. 1, 2; Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 167-176. (Article XXIV of treaty in latter citation is incorrectly translated). For treaty in French see "Traité de la Compagnie des Indes avec les Ursulines," Louisiana Historical Society *Publications*, II, part 4 (December, 1901), 37-42. For royal brevet in French see Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 61-62. For photostatic copies of treaty, application to king for approval of treaty, and royal brevet see Cauvin, "The French Ursulines", appendix, 177 ff.

[9] Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 5.

[10] Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 10-12; Albert Hubert Biever, *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley* (New Orleans, 1924), 29, 34.

pany for each one. The nuns looked after these daughters of France until they voluntarily chose husbands.[11]

Under the contract with the Company of the Indies, the nuns were obligated to take over the Royal Hospital, a duty which could not be carried out at first because the hospital was located at one end of the city and the provisional home of the Ursulines at the other.[12] Only when the sisters moved into their monastery on July 17, 1734,[13] was it possible for them to supervise the hospital. This task was performed by them until 1770 when their small number caused them to relinquish it.[14]

Since those early colonial days the Ursulines have been associated with many highlights in the colorful history of Louisiana as province, territory, and state. It takes but little imagination to visualize the charitable act of the sisters in accepting the children orphaned by the Indian massacre at Fort Rosalie in 1729;[15] one can hear the blasts of the guns fired under Don Alejandro O'Reilly's orders in 1769 taking the lives of those condemned for rebellion after Louisiana's transfer to Spain while nearby inside the Ursuline chapel the relatives of the doomed prayed;[16] and one can picture Andrew

11 Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 85-91. For early educational work of the Ursulines in Louisiana see also Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans,* 198-200; Baudier, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana,* 104-105; Biever, *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley,* 34-35; Martin Luther Riley, "The Development of Education in Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* XIX (July, 1936), 601-607, 617-618, 621-622.

12 Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," 29; Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage,* 34; Cauvin, *The French Ursulines,* 88. For detailed descriptions of provisional and all subsequent homes of the nuns up to the 1912 move to their present location on State Street, see Samuel Wilson, Jr., "An Architectural History of the Royal Hospital and the Ursuline Convent of New Orleans," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* XXIX (July, 1946), 559-659 *passim.*

13 Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans,* 22; Wilson, "An Architectural History," 590.

14 Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans,* 24-27, 84. Semple suggests that the main factor causing the nuns to give up the hospital was not numbers but the aim of complying with more rigid Spanish customs in regard to cloister rules. For additional references concerning the nuns and the Royal Hospital see John Duffy (ed.), *The Rudolph Matas History of Medicine in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge, 1958), I, 89-103; Wilson, "An Architectural History," 621.

15 Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 93-94; Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," 29.

16 Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," 34; Cruzat, "The Ursulines of Louisiana," 14.

Jackson, triumphant in victory after the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, visiting the convent to thank the nuns for their prayers for divine aid to his soldiers.[17]

Reference to such events gives an inkling of how closely interwoven are the activities of the Ursulines with early Louisiana history. Although playing an important role upon special occasions, the greatest influence of the sisters has been felt in the continual fulfillment of their original aim in the teaching of young girls since colonial times.

While something of the zeal and courage which have always characterized the Ursulines in New Orleans is captured in the first mother superior's comparatively brief description of the voyage of the pioneer nuns of 1727,[18] the long and dangerous journey to Louisiana is the subject of another entertaining, well written, and more detailed account by Sister Marie Madeleine Hachard de St. Stanislaus.[19] Written in vivid language, Mother Tranchepain's account provides a concise and charming story of the voyage which turned out to be a real adventure involving pirates as well as other perils. The narrative ends with the Ursuline nuns settled in a temporary home in New Orleans while a permanent establish-

[17] Cauvin, "The French Ursulines," 149-152; Carroll, *The Ursulines in Louisiana*, 35-37; Renshaw, "The Louisiana Ursulines," 35-36.

[18] Mother Tranchepain's account in French may be found in Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 13-36. As far as can be determined, no complete English translation of this account has ever been published. An unpublished English translation, Marie Tranchepain de Saint Augustin, *Journal of the Voyage of the First Ursulines to New Orleans, 1727*, translated by Olivia Blanchard (New Orleans, 1940) was made for the survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana under the auspices of the Works Projects Administration.

[19] Marie Madeleine Hachard de St. Stanislaus, *Relation du Voyage des Ursulines de Rouen à la Nouvelle Orleans* avec une introduction et des notes par Gabriel Gravier (Paris, 1872), LVI-LVII. In the introduction, Gravier contends that the Tranchepain account, save for some small additions by Mother Tranchepain, was written by Sister Hachard, most likely under her mother superior's directions. Many identical phrases and others differing only in arrangement of words and verb tenses lend credence to this claim. Only minor differences of fact exist between the two narratives. The most outstanding difference is in length; the Tranchepain relation leaves out numerous details incorporated in the Hachard relation. The shorter relation may be described as a summary of the other. Certainly, the author of whichever account was written last, must have been familiar with the one written first. For an English translation of the Hachard narrative see Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 201-224.

ment was under construction. Thus began the long history of the Ursulines in Louisiana.

RELATION[20]

Of the Founders of the New Orleans [Ursuline Establishment], written to the Ursulines of France, by the first Superior, the Mother St. Augustin.

After having spent some time at the house of the good Ursulines of [Hennebon],[21] we embarked[22] the 22nd of February 1727; but as the wind changed it was resolved that we would not set sail until the next day, which gave us time to settle ourselves in our little room. [This latter] was a compartment which had been made for us between decks. We found ourselves a little crowded there, but we were alone which gave us a great deal of pleasure.

[The ship] set sail the 23rd of February at two in the afternoon. The weather was good and we went up on deck to take some air, but at half a league from L'Orient they encountered a rock. The shock was rude and the alarm general. [The crew] raised the sails at the same time, which was noticed from the port of L'Orient. They came to our aid and worked with so much vigor that we found ourselves delivered from this first fright and in a proper condition to continue our route. It was then that each one began to pay tribute to the sea. No one of us escaped and the least sick were the sisters [Marianne] Boulanger [de St. Angelique] and [Marie Madeleine] Hachard [de St. Stanislaus], who got off with slight sick feelings.

Meanwhile the winds changed and became quite the contrary. The ship was in a continual agitation and made some

[20] Translated from a French publication Marie Tranchepain de St. Augustin, *Relation du Voyage*, 13-36. In translating the text, capitalization and punctuation have been made to conform to modern English usage.

[21] Tranchepain, *Relation du Voyage*, 5.

[22] The nuns went the short distance from Hennebon on a ferry to L'Orient, in Brittany, where they embarked on a ship named the *Gironde*. See Hachard's description of the voyage in Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 186-187, 190, 192, 201.

bounds which overturned us one on top of the other. Scarcely was the soup on the table when a jolt of the vessel overturned it. These little accidents and others made us laugh in spite of the sea-sickness which is a violent malady and which reduces to the extremity. But when one experiences it, one is scarcely disturbed because ones does not die from it. I was the one who suffered the most from it, but that did not disturb my vocation. Our Lord mixes a certain I do not know what to that which one does for him so that even pain becomes mild, and it is that which my Sisters have proved better than I because they have merited it more. Moreover, great was my consolation to see that in spite of troubles, sicknesses, caused by the length of the voyage, in spite of meeting pirates, no one regretted the sacrifice which she had made to God of all her person, and the risks which we ran did not disturb them. It was upon one of these dangerous occasions that we made a vow to the Holy Virgin and to St. Francis Xavier in order to merit their protection.

Meanwhile our vessel scarcely advanced, and in fifteen days we did not make more distance than we ought to have made in three. Our provisions diminished, especially the water; and we were reduced, as well as the crew, to one pint per day—even it was very bad. Our captain was obliged to put into port at the island of Madiera 300 leagues from L'Orient.[23] As soon as the principal village of this island had caught sight of us, they came to meet us in order to know what we wanted. They were satisfied and returned. The captain then had seven cannon-shots fired to salute the town, which replied to us of the same. Those who had come to see us having said that there were on shore a religious community and some Jesuit missionaries, who have a famous college in this town, they delayed not in paying us a visit before our Reverend Fathers had had the time to anticipate them. One cannot be more gracious than are these fathers. Only one among them could speak French, but he said a thousand obliging things in the name of all. They beg-

[23] The ship put into port at the island of Madeira on March 12, 1727. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 204.

Fig. 23—Ursuline convent, front elevation of first building, 1733 (courtesy of Samuel Wilson, Jr.)

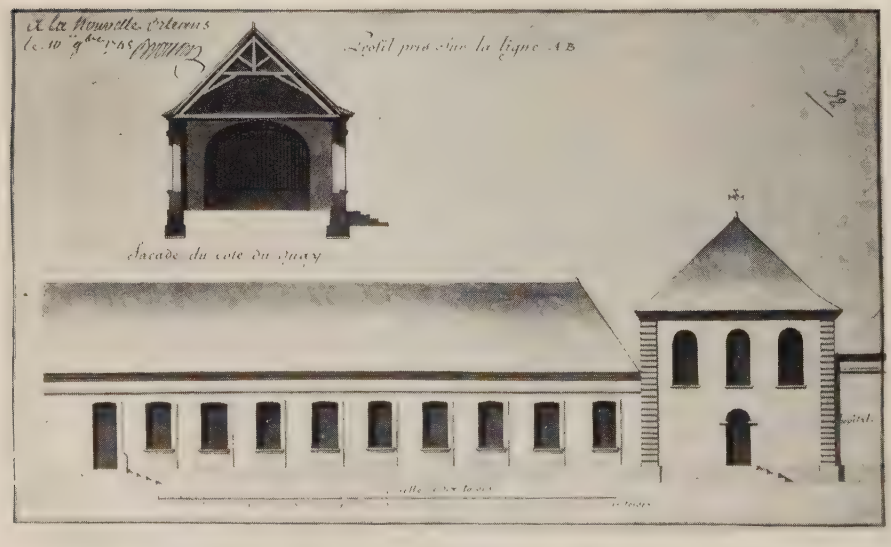

Fig. 24—Ursuline Chapel, elevation, 1745 (courtesy of Samuel Wilson, Jr.)

Figure 26–Bird's eye view of Ursuline Academy, 1824-1912, Dauphine Street (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

Fig. 37—Orphanage, Ursuline Academy, Dauphine Street (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

Fig. 28–St. Ursula's Hall, front view, Dauphine Street (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

Fig. 29—St. Ursula's Hall, side view, Dauphine Street (courtesy of Ursuline Academy)

ged us to come to land and to take our lodgings at their house, but we declined politely. Our two Fathers went there to dine the next day and they were received with all the agreeableness and all the magnificence possible.

We also had part in their generosity, because they themselves brought to us great baskets filled with all sorts of refreshments. And during the three days that we remained anchored, these generous Fathers paid us several visits and each day they seemed to take a new pleasure in praising the zeal which had made us undertake such a long voyage. The greatest pain which they said they had was of not being able to do us more good, esteeming what they did as nothing in comparison to their good will. These Fathers wore large spectacles on the nose, in the fashion of Portugal, and I noticed one who took them off in order to read something, which made us laugh. Moreover, their manners are about the same as those of our French Fathers, except that they wear their hair short.

We also received the visit of all the pupils of the Jesuits. They carried a rosary in their hands which keeps them in contenance, but it is said that they are not more devout because of it. The most important gentlemen of the island paid us a visit, but we did not see any women. In this country they are not visible and are not seen but through gratings. They do not come out but to go to Mass, and all together, so that they form a kind of procession. They walk covered with large veils, in silence or saying their rosary.

There are two communities on this island. The principal one is the order of St. Claire, and the abbess is a Portuguese princess. As they are more free than the secular women, their manners are also more easy. They had soon learned the news of our arrival because the abbess wrote me in a very obliging and very flattering manner to invite me to go to their house with all my Religious. Her style is very friendly and she gave us great praises. I replied to her the best that I could, and she received my letter with all the marks of esteem and friendship that I would have been able to wish from an equal.

The next day a young woman from the ship having paid her a visit on my part, was overwhelmed with courtesies and gifts. They reiterated to her their entreaties to persuade us to go to their house; but not considering it proper to do so,[24] and the crew having secured the necessary provisions, we thanked the town by a cannon-shot, and we stood out to sea to continue our route.

The wind was favorable only during two days. Suddenly it changed and we took a long while to make 200 leagues, at the end of which they discovered a pirate. Immediately the ordinary preparations for defense were made; each one armed himself and all the cannons were loaded. It was decided that during the combat we would be closed in the safest place between decks. The women said goodby to their husbands. Mademoiselle La Chaise, who had wished to be with us, wept bitterly for fear of losing her brother, who is one of the officers of our ship. As for us, thanks to Our Lord, no one showed any weakness. After all, the pirate, seeing himself too weak, withdrew, and left us in liberty: sad liberty for some Religious to be on a vessel where it is impossible to have a moment to oneself. However, we carried on our spiritual exercises, but in the milieu of the dissipation which is found among people who think of nothing but amusing themselves in order to pass the time, and that is what has pained us the most.

We finally arrived on the Tropic [of Cancer]. It was Good Friday, and the holiness of the day having prevented the ceremony of baptism of which you have no doubt heard spoken, it was postponed to Holy Saturday during the afternoon. I will not give you the details of this ceremony which is but an amusement for the sailors. Moreover, one is able to exempt oneself from it only with money, and as we are more than twenty, including the servants of the fathers as well as ours, they had of our part a good little sum. Those who did not wish to give anything received several buckets

[24] The nuns did not think it proper to appear in public in a place where secular women did not do so. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 206.

of water over the body, but the great heat was able to render this bath agreeable to them.

Some days afterwards we had a second alarm by the encounter of a vessel which followed us nearby. [Our ship] stood on the defensive and when we [the ships] were approaching one another, they closed us in the place which was assigned to us. They were on the point of firing above, but the enemy withdrew a little ways, which gave us time to have supper. As it was noted that the enemy approached from time to time, they kept good guard all night. We went to bed expecting always that they would come to get us up. The enemy withdrew the next day. The sea continued to give fright and it was sometimes so furious that we believed we would be engulfed by it. But we suffered more from the length of the voyage, longing more and more for this land so long and so ardently desired, which made us redouble our prayers in order to obtain a more favorable weather.

Our Lord accorded us sometimes several hours of good wind and with the aid of this succor we arrived at Bay St. Louis,[25] where we had to cast anchor. As there was no religious house nor person of our acquaintance in this place, we did not count on descending but to go for a walk and have a care to our linen which we needed to bleach. But the first evening that we had dropped anchor, the Directors of the Company desired to pay us a visit and declared that they wished that we would stay at their house all the time the vessel was anchored. We could not resist such pressing offers and we promised to go there the next day. These two gentlemen[26] proved to be of good breeding and of perfect merit. They entertained us once magnificently and during the fifteen days which we spent at their house, we took our meals privately, that is to say with our Reverend Fathers only, and we were treated with abundance.

[25] The Hachard account gives this place as the Quay St. Louis, a port in Santo Domingo or Haiti. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 209.

[26] The gentlemen were named Cirou [possibly Ciron] and Girard. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 209-210; Dunbar Rowland and Albert Sanders (eds. and trans.), *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 1701-1729. *French Dominion* (2 vols., Jackson, 1929), II, 546.

Two days after our arrival Monsieur the Governor[27] came to pay us a visit. He is a gentleman from Paris, a little aged, but enjoying health and a very gracious manner of receiving. He had us twice to dine with a French magnificence, and we had complete liberty to devote ourselves to our spiritual exercises. This gentleman evinced to me a great desire to have an establishment of Ursulines in that country. The Directors of the Company have the same desire for the education of the young Creoles, who have many dispositions. It is necessary to hope that we shall have a house of our order in that country. I say this in passing in order to inflame anyone with zeal for the salvation of souls. What good fortune to be consumed by such a glorious fire! What ought to excite the zeal, is the little of religion which is there; the most devout are those who do not lead a scandalous life. The day that we dined at the house of Monsieur the Governor, he wished for us to visit the fort, situated on the sea, and which, according to the connoisseurs, is a rare thing in its style. We found there two or three garrisons drawn up in order under arms to receive us at the sound of drums in order to do us more honor. They served us some refreshments.

Finally we embarked the 19th, overwhelmed with courtesies and gifts. Moreover, they offered us various refreshments to soften the rest of our voyage which was still 500 leagues.

The wind at first favorable, reversed, and the calms delayed our course considerably. We met two enemy vessels, but we got rid of them by putting ourselves in a state of defense. We hope in spite of this mishap to arrive for the feast of the Blessed Sacrement, but Our Lord reserved for us a greater trial for the end, for the contrary winds conjointly with the currents pushed us in spite of ourselves toward the Ile Blanche at the moment when we awaited with impatience the pleasure of seeing the first lands of the Mississippi. We felt a great deal of joy at the approach of this land, but good God! but this joy was short! and but it was dearly bought. At the moment when we thought the least of it,

[27] The governor was a Mr. Brache. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 210.

occupied with amusing ourselves on deck, suddenly the vessel ran aground so rudely and with so many shocks that we believed ourselves lost without resource.

The captain and the crew lowered the sails and made diverse manoeuvres in order to draw us from the danger, but all was useless, and by means of the sounding-line they discovered that the vessel was sunk five feet in the sand. The captain decided to lighten it. They began with the cannons which they arranged on two pieces of wood so that they could not sink to the bottom, and they abandoned them to the sea. Then they removed the ballast composed of pebbles, lead and scrap-iron. All that not sufficing to lighten the vessel, they decided to throw out the trunks which were in great number. Ours were the first; also it was for us to make the first sacrifice. We were not long in reasoning with ourselves and we consented with good heart to see ourselves stripped of all in order to practice a great poverty. They had assured us that there was nothing to fear for our lives, being so near land, but that we ought not to descend but at the last extremity since that island was populated only by some very cruel savages. Finally at the moment when we thought to see our trunks thrown out, the captain changed his mind and had the sugar thrown out, which was in great quantity. Our Reverend Fathers and we lost a barrel[28] of 300 pounds that the Directors of the Company had given us.

Nevertheless, the ship was too heavy and they still wished to return to our trunks, but by the permission of God and the protection of the Blessed Virgin, which we were beseeching during all that time, every time that they were going to take our trunks the captain changed his mind and had another thing taken. They threw out then 60 barrels[29] of brandy and a large quantity of salmon, after which they made further efforts to draw out the vessel. Finally they succeeded, which

28 The Hachard account says that two barrels were lost by the nuns and the fathers. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 213.

29 The Hachard account says that 61 barrels of brandy were thrown out. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 214.

filled us with a great joy. That peril lasted twenty-four hours, and very few persons went to bed that night.

A few hours afterwards they resumed the journey, but scarcely had we made a quarter of a league, when the vessel grounded a second time with so much violence and so frequent shocks that no more hope remained to us than in the omnipotence of God. The captain even was quite surprised that the vessel could resist such a long time and he asserted that out of ten, nine would have been broken. All the crew was struck with consternation. As for me, I avow that I have never seen death so near and although I always trusted in the aid of the Blessed Virgin, the fear painted on all the faces, led me to believe that our last hour had arrived. What consoled me assuredly, was the nobility of my sisters who sustained themselves always in a spirit of sacrifice, with a calm [composure] and a surprising peace. But the Lord was contented at the time with our good will, and give His blessing to the proceedings of the captain and to the labor of the sailors and passengers who did not spare themselves in these encounters. The Reverend Father René Tartarin directed them. We were again that time drawn from danger and the captain had the Te Deum sung in expression of gratitude.

After that last danger the ship's boat went always in advance and an officer had the sounding-line in his hand until we stood out to sea. Then we lacked water. The heat was excessive. We suffered a great deal from thirst which made us exchange our wine for water, an exchange which was made, however, only bottle for bottle; yet we were happy to have it at that price. This lasted almost fifteen days. Because the winds and the currents were almost always contrary to us, it was necessary to drop anchor several times a day. Finally we arrived in sight of a land that was unknown to us and that we believed inhabited by savages on account of the large fires which were lighted there. Nevertheless, they sent a boat to search for some water there. A few hours after the departure of the boat, the wind became favorable and the captain, not wishing to lose the opportunity to advance, fired a cannon-shot in order to signal the officer to return, and at the

same time he raised the anchor. But the officer having taken the noise of the cannon for thunder, continued to advance toward the land, which left us in a great anxiety because the sea was furious. He returned, however, the next day. That island is called St. Rose [modern Santa Rosa]. We remained there three or four days waiting for a favorable wind.

Having set sail we continued our route and a few days from there we discovered the island Dauphine and at the same time a brigantine which came towards me. This sight caused us a great deal of joy, hoping to learn some news of our New Orleans. Our hope was not in vain, and we had the pleasure of seeing approach this brigantine whose captain was one of ours. He asked to greet us and it was from him that we learned for the first time news of the Reverend Father [Nicolas Ignace] Beaubois, who was waiting for us with impatience, that our lodging was all prepared to receive us and that they were beginning to build our monastery. I avow that it was the first exterior joy that I had tasted since our departure from France, and it was so heartfelt that it made me, as well as our sisters, forget all our troubles and past fatigues. We continued in company of the brigantine towards the island Dauphine, where we landed in order to obtain water in the fear of the calms which are frequent in these parts.

Scarcely had we landed when the wind became favorable. We resumed our journey toward the Balize, where we arrived finally the 23rd of July 1727, five months day for day since our departure. Balize is a seaport at the entrance of the Mississippi. Monsieur Duverger,[30] who commanded it for the Company, came soon to see us and offered us his house, while waiting until we could procure some carriages to take us to New Orleans. We accepted that offer made with such good grace. We went in a shallop with one part of our effects and accompanied by Monsieur Duverger. The weather was very bad, the shallop overloaded, the sailoars drunk, and we found ourselves once more in an imminent peril from which

30 Duverger is spelled Duvergé and de Verges in the Hachard account. See Semple, *The Ursulines in New Orleans*, 217-218.

we would not have been able to extract ourselves if Monsieur Duverger had not put into port at the island of Cannes near Balize. We had a great deal of trouble in landing because of the contrary wind and we ran the risk of passing the night there among some men employed to build a fort under the direction of Monsieur Duverger. But this gentleman sent to look for some pirogues and we were obliged to separate into two bands. We arrived at his house, and he treated us the best way that it was possible for him. Monsieur Duverger is very generous, and although he is young and unmarried, he leads a very regulated and very solitary life, being applied without respite to the affairs which are entrusted to him. We remained at his house until the 29th.

The Father Tartarin had preceded us several days to go to announce our arrival to the Reverend Father Beaubois, whom he agreeably surprised, for our long navigation had alarmed the whole country and they believed us lost. The Reverend Father Beaubois delayed not in sending to look for us. Not being able to come himself on account of sickness, he charged Monsieur Massy, brother of our postulant [Claude Massy] with this commission. This gentleman brought me two letters: one from Monsieur Perrier,[31] commandent of Louisiana and knight of St. Louis, and the other from Monsieur [Jacques de] la Chaise, director general [of the Company]. They both evinced a great impatience to see us, and as the shallop was too small to hold all our company, it was necessary to separate us. I went in the pirogue with five of the youngest of our sisters, accompanied by the Reverend Father D'Outreleau, by the Brother Crucy and by a gentleman. Our other sisters went in the shallop with Monsieur Massy, our two maids and two servants of our Reverend Fathers.

That little voyage which was only thirty leagues has been accompanied by incredible hardships. The shallop going too slowly, we took the lead. We left the day of St. Ignace, but it was necessary to stop every night, and one hour before

31 Usually spelled Perier. Étienne Boucher de la Perier de Salvert had become governor of Louisiana in 1726.

sun set, in order to have the time to arrange our mosquito-nets, because one is assailed by insects whose sting causes pains almost insupportable. We went to bed twice in the middle of mud and waters which penetrated us, and our mattresses almost swam in the water. All this is harrassing at the time but one is compensated afterwards by the pleasure which is felt by each one in relating his little adventures, and then one is quite surprised by the strength and by the courage which the good God gives in these encounters, which proves well that He never abandons us, and does not permit that we be tried beyond our endurances giving always graces proportioned to the trials which He sends us.

The ardent desire which we had of arriving at the end made us endure all the troubles with a great joy. When we were at eight or ten leagues from New Orleans, we began to encounter some plantations. They who stopped us vied with each other to make us enter their homes, and everywhere we were received with a joy beyond all expression. From all sides they promised us boarding students and some wished already to give them to us. We remained thus several days on various plantations. Finally the Reverend Father René Tartarin, who had gone ahead of us, came back to inform us that the Reverend Father Beaubois awaited us. We left then at three o'clock in the morning and we arrived at five o'clock, the 6th of August. Our Sisters did not arrive until the next day.

It would be too long and even useless, to attempt to express to you the diverse sentiments of my heart at the sight of a land after which I longed for so many years. You have too much zeal, My Reverend Mother, to doubt the excess of my consolation in landing. We found few persons on account of the hour, and we made our way towards the house of the Reverend Father Beaubois, where we soon met him, coming to us leaning on a cane because of his great weakness. He appeared pale and drawn but soon his face became animated by the joy which he felt upon seeing us. He made us rest a little and served us an excellent breakfast which was often interrupted by a great number of his friends who came to greet us.

Towards ten or eleven o'clock the Reverend Father conducted us to our house. It is a house that the Company rents while waiting for the monastery to be built. It is directly at one end of the city, and the hospital at the other. Thus we cannot take charge of it until our monastery be finished.

The inhabitants of New Orleans take care that we lack nothing: it is a question who will send us the most. This generosity puts us under obligation towards almost everybody. Among our friends the most devoted are Monsieur the Commandant [Perier] and his Dame [Catherine le Chibelier], who are persons full of merit and of very pleasant society. This gentleman has won for himself the esteem of all the country, which he has travelled for some months, and he has succeeded in calming the troubles which reign in the town. We receive also a great deal of politeness and of kind attentions on the part of Monsieur la Chaise, director general of the Company; he has not yet refused us anything which we have asked of him.

Finally, all makes us hope that our establishment will turn to the greatest glory of God, and that with time it will produce great good for the salvation of souls, which is our principal end. For that we have need of prayers; I ask you for them My Reverend Mother, and hope that your zeal will get us some from all the communities of the order with which you are in correspondence.

I wish that the reading of this relation could embrace the hearts with the love of Our Lord and dispose the subjects which He and His Blessed Mother prepared to come to us in aid. Let the length of the voyage and the hardships that we have endured rebuff no one. Oh! if one knew how God recompenses magnificently what is done for Him, one would not take into any consideration all the troubles by which it is necessary to pass! As far as possible we will take religious only from thirty to forty years of age.

The Reverend Father Beaubois says the Mass to us every day, but he does not permit the Blessed Sacrement.

Let God be ever praised and adored by all the earth.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Sr. Marie de St. Augustin,

Tranchepain.
Superior.

The Lafourche District in 1862: Militia and Partisan Rangers

By BARNES F. LATHROP

who is a member of the History Department, University of Texas.

The most important bayou region of lower Louisiana, after the Teche, is the Lafourche, a district bounded on the west by the Atchafalaya Basin, on the north and east by the parishes along the Mississippi River, and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. It comprised in 1862, as it does today, the three parishes of Assumption, Lafourche, and Terrebonne. A bit over half the inhabitants consisted of slaves, mostly upon large sugar plantations. The whites were typically Creole farmers, laborers, mechanics, or tradespeople, but Anglo-Americans figured prominently in planting, the professions, and public affairs. The principal routes of travel were the bayous, especially Bayou Lafourche, and the New Orleans, Opelousas and Great Western Railroad, which began opposite New Orleans and ran west along the River and across the Lafourche district to the Atchafalaya.

In public affairs the disposition of the Lafourche district was decidedly conservative. Heavy majorities had supported the moderate tickets in the presidential election of 1860 and afterward opposed the secession of Louisiana by separate state action. Down to February, 1862, only three companies of Confederate troops had volunteered from a population that might have provided a dozen. Then the perilous military situa-

tion in the Mississippi Valley had rapidly brought out some eight companies. At the same time efforts had been made to strengthen the militia and to detail hundreds of militiamen for active duty within the state. In Assumption, and presumably in other parishes, the assignment of men to active duty—amounting to a draft—had failed because state militia headquarters decided, after the details were made, that the men could be used only if armed, which they were not. This fiasco had, according to the colonel of the Assumption regiment, greatly demoralized the militia.

With the abrupt fall of New Orleans to the enemy at the end of April, 1862, parties of Federal troops had immediately commenced coming into the Lafourche by railroad. They had met no obstacles except a small ambush in Terrebonne Parish that provoked punishment severe enough to confirm the people of the district in the belief that purely local attempts to organize resistance would be mercilessly crushed. After a few weeks, however, a company of Louisiana troops from the Teche had succeeded in closing the railroad west of Bayou Lafourche, and before the end of June the enemy had drawn back all the way to Des Allemands on the eastern edge of the Lafourche district. Evidently the Federals were not yet ready to undertake occupation of the Lafourche against even minor opposition.

Such, roughly, was the posture of affairs when Governor Thomas O. Moore at Opelousas, the temporary state capital, began in mid-June, 1862, to shower the parishes west of the Mississippi River, and especially those in the Lafourche district, with a series of directives intended to prevent trade with the enemy, to suppress disloyalty, and to make the militia an effective force. Assumption and Lafourche, together with four River parishes, comprised a militia brigade (the Fifth) under command of Brigadier-General R. C. Martin, proprietor of Albemarle Plantation in Assumption Parish. Martin received orders to put the militia of his brigade into active service and organize them, to destroy bridges and tear up rails on the Opelousas Railroad, to station forces at points of possible enemy ingress, to arrest disloyal persons, and to prohibit travel to

New Orleans.[1] A separate order instructed him to "prevent trafficking" between the parishes of his command and New Orleans.[2] These orders were amplified a few days later in an address by Moore "To the People of Louisiana." Citizens going to places in possession of the enemy "and returning with the enemy's usual passport" should be arrested. (The standard Federal pass bore on its face a statement that it was "given upon the Parole of Honor of the holder, that he will in no way give information, countenance, aid or support to the so-called Confederate Government or States.") Conscripts or militiamen holding such passports and pleading the parole clause therein as a bar to service should be "treated as public enemies." Spies and "salaried informers" must be ferreted out, "Tories" dealt with as traitors, Confederate notes "received and used as the currency of the country," and steamboats burned if necessary to prevent their capture.[3] Militia commanders were ordered to enforce these rules.[4]

Coincident with the attempt to order out the militia, Lieutenant-Colonel V. A. Fournet's Tenth or Yellow-Jacket Battalion Louisiana Volunteers (five companies) was sent from the Teche into the Lafourche district. The main purpose of Fournet's mission, and its failure, were made plain by a letter to Brigadier-General Martin from William B. Ratliff, an Assumption planter reported to be trying to raise a regiment to

[1] Orders No. 663 (Moore by M. Grivot, Adjutant and Inspector General), Headquarters Louisiana Militia, Adjutant General's Office, Opelousas, Louisiana, June 14, 1862, in U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols. in 128, Washington, 1880-1901), ser. I, vol. XV, 755-756. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records);* Special Orders No. 192 (Major-General John L. Lewis, commanding, Louisiana Militia, to Brig. Gen. R. C. Martin), Opelousas, Louisiana, June 14, 1862, R. C. Martin Papers (in private possession). No. 192 merely repeats 663.

[2] Orders No. 664 (Moore), June 14, 1862, Martin Papers.

[3] "Rules That Will Not Be Relaxed," in "Address," June 18, 1862, *Official Records,* ser. I, vol. XV, 509, or as a broadsheet in Martin Papers.

[4] Orders No. 682 (Moore), June 20, 1862, *Official Records,* ser. I, vol. XV, 759-760, or as a broadside directed to Martin in Martin Papers.

assist troops from the outside.[5] Ratliff wrote from Napoleonville on June 26, 1862:

> I went down to the Lafourche Crossing on yesterday and called on Col. Fournet commanding several companies of Confederate soldiers at that point to ascertain from him his object in coming into this country and to learn whether he intended to remain and hold his position. I was informed by him that he had accomplished what he came for [presumably the ending of Federal forays into the region] and intended to withdraw the whole of his force to Opelousas immediately. he [*sic*] stated that he was ordered to come here for five or six days and expected the Malitia [*sic*] to be drawn out of the parishes to keep this country free from the enemy. I stated to him that this country did not have provision to supply a force; that we drew supplies for the people of this count[r]y from the western parishes and texas [*sic*] and that we had no arms tents or anything and that it would be impossible to get out the Malitia [*sic*] here without a force. he [*sic*] said his orders were to withdraw his force several days ago and he had waited several days longer to enable the Malitia [*sic*] to form and that he intended to return with his force immediately to the Atakapas. [*sic*]

The obstacles in the way of execution of Moore's orders for calling out the militia were set forth feelingly and at length by J. K. Gaudet, colonel of the St. James regiment. St. James

[5] Susan Virginia (Mrs. George W.) Pugh to husband, July 1, 1862, paraphrased in R. L. Pugh, In Camp [near Tupelo, Miss.], to wife, July 10, 1862, R. L. Pugh Papers (Department of Archives, Louisiana State University). As a captain in the Seventh Louisiana Infantry, Ratliff had taken a company of Irishmen to Virginia early in the war, then resigned on account of ill health; in 1864-1865 he would attract attention as commander of an outpost between the lines in the Grosse Tete country. Goodspeed Publishing Company, *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Louisiana* (2 vols., Chicago, 1892), II, 330-331; Andrew B. Booth (compiler), *Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands* (3 vols. in 4, New Orleans, 1920), vol. III, bk. II, 252; Confederate States War Department, *Special Orders of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office,* Confederate States, [March 7,] 1861-[April 1,] 1865 (5 vols., [Washington, 1885-1887]), [I] (1861), 109; index under Ratcliff, Ratliff, and William B. Ratliff in *Official Records,* ser. I, vol. XXVI, pt. I, vol. XXXIV, pts. I, III, vol. XLI, pts. I-III, vol. XLVIII, pts. I-II, ser. II, vol. VIII; U. S. Navy Department, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols. and index, Washington, 1894-1927), ser. I, vol. XXVII, 70-75, 192, 248. (Hereinafter cited as *Official Records. . .Navies.)*

lay on both banks of the Mississippi, which was controlled by Federal gunboats; its lower line was about forty-five miles above New Orleans. Gaudet wrote R. C. Martin, his brigade commander, June 28, 1862:

> I have just received your communication and hasten to answer . . . It is in my opinion entirely impracticable to attempt any thing, and I agree with you that we are as completely under the control of the Federal forces as the City itself. Were we to try to execute the orders from Opelousas, the only result would be our speedy arrest and imprisonment . . . . The conversation I have just had with your messenger and your kind note convince me, to my great satisfaction, that you have taken the stand which was to be expected from a man of sense and experience, who has at heart the best interests of the Country.
>
> We cannot do otherwise, my dear Sir, than wait with patience. It would be folly to bring upon us and our communities the vengeance of men that we have no means of resisting successfully. If those who are now out of harm's way wish to drive us to steps that can be attended with no other possible result than ruin and devastation, it is our bounden duty to take such course as is dictated by common sense and a proper regard for the safety of our families. If the authorities at Opelousas insist upon it, I shall crave of you leave to hand in my resignation, and I have no doubt all the officers of this Regiment will do likewise.
>
> As you observe in your note, we have already been subjected to annoyance upon the unfounded reports of miserable scamps from our own community. We stand in daily dread of similar visitations, and most certainly the least move on our part would bring on us immediate arrest. We are prisoners in every sense of the term, and much worse off in that respect than you people on the Bayou, as we have gunboats continually passing up and down the River, and the proximity of the city renders expeditions from that place an easy matter. Were we to attempt exercising any military authority, we would be arrested and our families harassed. Where is our protection to come from? Where is the authority to support us when we are placed in peril? These are considerations which may not strike Gov. Moore or the other fugitives at Opelousas, but they come home to us with a terrible force.

It is not a difficult or unpleasant thing to be two hundred miles from the ennemy [*sic*] penning proclamations and orders, but when they involve such momentous consequences to a large community who are perfectly defenseless, a moment of sober thought should prevent their being promulgated without any possible benefit to any body.

I am thus, my dear Sir, decidedly of opinion that the orders transmitted to us cannot be executed in our part of the Country. We can make light of our own personal dangers, but we cannot disregard the safety of our people. If you think that under the circumstances we are placed in the alternative of obeying or of throwing up our commissions, I for one am prepared to resign and will do so very willingly, upon the slightest intimation from you.

The Bayou parishes were, as Gaudet said, in less peril than the River parishes, but even on the Bayou circumstances did not favor calling out the militia. The colonel of the Assumption regiment, William W. Pugh of Woodlawn Plantation, explained why this was so.

My command is situated on both sides of the Lafourche (a stream navigable for steam boats during Nine months of the year) but principally on the Right [west] bank. The land falls as you recede from the stream into deep cypress swamps at a distance varying from 60 to 80 arpents [i. e., two to three miles]. The larger portion of our [white] population is to be found on narrow ridges of land running back and parallel to the Lafourche for a distance of fifteen miles, these ridges are found mostly on the right bank & during the recent crevasses on the Mississippi were generally submerged greatly to the distress and loss of the small planters who cultivate the soil. From this cause I may venture the assertion that the families of 3/5ths of the militia of this parish are now in a destitute condition, and dependent entirely for their supplies of bread for the coming year on the corn which is yet to be planted on a soil not yet free from water.

Under these circumstances I deem that it would be inexpedient and unwise to remove them from the fields of their labor to attempt any military measure which might be postponed to a later period—

Situated as we are on the banks of a navigable stream we

> are as much under the control of the enemy's guns as if we resided on the banks of the Mississippi, and admitting that the Lafourche were closed to the entrance of steamboats it is doubtful if we could repel an attack made in force by land.
>
> We have no arms to defend ourselves with, save the shot guns which were not transferred to the agents of the Confederate government, and neither powder nor ball in sufficient quantities to protect ourselves in the event of a servile insurrection, much less against an enemy armed with cannon and all the improved implements of modern warfare.
>
> Under the circumstances it occurs to me that it would be unwise to invite by a vain display of our meager resources, the attack of a ruthless enemy who would not hesitate to spread desolation over our land and deprive our women and children of shelters which a more prudent course would save from destruction—
>
> If our militia is to be called into active service, there should be a supporting force of sufficient magnitude to give it at least, the semblance of a successful resistance to those whose attack can be made at any time, and with every prospect of success whenever they deem it expedient.
>
> In addition . . . I must also state (this with much regret) that the public mind is much demoralized and there is a serious doubt, whether the militia as a body can be brought into active service without the aid of a sustaining force from some other quarter[6]

The failure of the militia to rally promptly upon the appearance of Fournet drew a fresh batch of directives from Opelousas. The Terrebonne militia (not in Martin's command) had already, like Martin's Brigade, been ordered to go into active service; the order was now repeated with an injunction upon the lieutenant-colonel to carry it out should the colonel not do so.[7] Martin was to put the militia of Lafourche Parish

[6] Colonel W. W. Pugh, Headquarters, Assumption Regiment, to Brig. Gen. R. C. Martin, July 8, 1862, Martin Papers; endorsed "Relative to G[enera]l Orders 663." In a concluding paragraph Pugh attributed part of the demoralization of the militia to the abortive state draft of March, 1862. See above p. 231 and Barnes F. Lathrop, "The Lafourche District in 1861-1862: A Problem in Local Defense," *Louisiana History*, I (Spring, 1960), 113.

[7] Nos. 665 (Moore), 694 (Moore), June 14, 27, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. I, vol. XV, 756, 769.

into active service under their colonel or lieutenant-colonel "with positive instructions" to prevent enemy incursions and to aid Fournet in any expedition he might undertake.[8] Probably before receipt of this order, Martin appointed T. E. Vick, a physician, sugar planter, and comparatively seasoned soldier, to be colonel of the Lafourche regiment.[9]

Early in July the mistress of Leighton Plantation (Bishop Leonidas Polk's old place above Thibodaux) sketched for her daughter the appearance of affairs in Lafourche Parish.

> I suppose our fate will soon be decided—the Militia has been called out and many of the Creole's [*sic*] have taken to the swamp and say they will not go— . . . Mr. Williams [overseer on R. L. Pugh's] Dixie [Plantation] says he thinks old *More* & the state is turned wrong side up—and has no head nor no tail. . . . Dr. Vick . . . is Col of the Militia & is very active; if any body can get them out he will, but I fear it will be a failure and the Yankees may come on us any day—for our force is small if others do not come from St. Mary's—and as Old Gov More is there I fear we will not get much help—[10]

The state authorities at Opelousas were ready enough in issuing orders, but very slow to answer letters concerning their execution. Brigadier-General Martin wrote the commander of the militia, Major-General John L. Lewis, on June 25 and 27, 1862; the letters were, as Lewis afterward explained, laid before Governor Moore, but no replies were made. Martin waited two weeks and then dispatched to Opelousas a pair of Assumption planters, quartermasters of his brigade, with a letter to Lewis, dated July 9, 1862, reporting on the condition of the Assumption militia and asking information and

[8] Special Orders No. 196 (Lewis), June 25, 1862, Martin Papers. No. 196 embodies Orders No. 690 (Moore), June 25, 1862, printed in part in *Official Records*, ser. I, vol. XV, 767.

[9] General Orders No. 723 [?] (Moore), June 30, 1862, and Grivot, Headquarters Louisiana State Militia, Adjutant General's Office, Opelousas, to Martin, June 30, 1862, Martin Papers. Vick had led the first volunteer company that left Lafourche Parish, became major of the Fourth Louisiana Infantry, then failed of reelection. Booth, *Louisiana Confederate Soldiers*, vol. III, bk. II, 297.

[10] Louisa (Mrs. John) Williams, "Home," to Mary Williams (Mrs. R. L.) Pugh, [Canton, Miss.], July 3 (1862), R. L. Pugh Papers.

instructions on various points. The two quartermasters reached Opelousas July 14. The letter they bore was laid before Governor Moore. He pronounced it too long for him to read and answer, but did grant immediate conference in which Lewis was included. The proceedings of the conference—"a complete analysis of our business"—the quartermasters in due time reported to Martin:

> To the question whether or not he could or would fill the requisition made by you for cannon (4 field pieces) with ammunition & equipments for same, horses, & equipments for men to man the same, & for powder, lead, equipments, percussion caps &c, for infantry, the Governor replied that he had nothing of the kind & could not therefore fill any portion of your requistions. That General Van Dorn [commanding at Vicksburg] had taken from him everything of the kind, save what General [John G.] Pratt [commanding Ninth Brigade, Louisiana Militia] had possession of, of which Genl. P. could give us a portion or not as he chose. That he Gov. Moore was having some Cannon powder made into rifle powder & that he would send us some of this new rifle powder with some ball as soon as possible.[11]
>
> To the question as to wether the militia should or [should] not be drilled in your Brigade he said: in those places exposed to the enemy it was useless to attempt it, in all other places they might be drilled if you thought best.
>
> With regard to the defense of your brigade the Governor did not deem that shot guns in the hands of militia would avail much & thought it could not be thus effectively defended.
>
> As to the calling out the Militia of your command into active service, he only desired you to do so in the Parish of Lafourche— He thinks it best that the other Parishes [Ascension, Assumption, St. James, St. John the Baptist, St. Charles] should remain as they are with the Militia simply organized until the taking command of this department by the Confederate General which was daily expected—
>
> With regard to Confederate money the Governor holds

[11] Colonel T. E. Vick (by his adjutant) wrote from Headquarters Lafourche Militia, Camp Martin, July 22, 1862 (in Martin Papers): "The only artilery[*sic*] which is in camp and can be spared is a 32 pounder unmounted—As regards ammunition there is not over 500 lbs in the parish."

> that his proclamation [saying that "Confederate notes shall be received and used as the currency of the country"] does not apply to private transactions— It only applies he says to government purchases, when if the parties vendor refuse Confederate money the goods may be taken upon the delivery of a receipt for the same— With reference to parties trading with the enemy, this is the Governor's decision— They must be arrested & tried by a Court Martial taken from the Parish in which the party offending is caught— The punishment to be such as the Court may determine, together with a confiscation of the property intended to be conveyed to or already conveyed from the enemy. This property after confiscation to be sold by the Military authorities to the highest bidder—[12]

Moore apparently did not discuss with Martin's emissaries one very pertinent fact, namely, that he had dispatched troops to act under his direct orders within the limits of Martin's command. The troops were a company of mounted partisan rangers under Captain James A. McWaters of Rapides Parish, a Mexican War veteran and "fine looking, red faced old gentleman, kind and generous in conduct, but fierce as a tiger in battle."[13] From Thibodaux McWaters was to send a messenger to Martin in Assumption Parish offering any aid that Martin might request. The first task Moore assigned the partisan rangers was the arrest of S. N. Burbank of St. John the Baptist and E. W. T. Burbank of Assumption; the Burbanks, sugar planters and natives of New York, stood accused of trade

[12] J. B. Whittington and F. W. Pike, Quartermasters, Fifth Brigade, Assumption, Louisiana, to Martin, July 24, 1862; also relevant is Lewis (by his adjutant), Headquarters Louisiana Troops, Major-General's Office, Opelousas, to Martin, August 3, 1862. Both letters are in Martin Papers. The three concluding paragraphs of the Whittington-Pike letter, one saying that Martin ranks Pratt, the other two purely formal, have been omitted.

[13] George C. Harding, "Shifting Scenes from the Drama of the Late War," *Miscellaneous Writings* (Indianapolis, 1882), 321. Other bits of information about McWaters appear in Booth, *Louisiana Confederate Soldiers*, vol. III, bk. I, 1248; Louisiana Adjutant General, *Annual Report*, 1891 (New Orleans, 1892), 33, 36, 40; and G. P. Whittington, "Rapides Parish, Louisiana—A History," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XVII (October, 1934), 744-745. The first reasonably clear evidence of McWaters' arrival on Lafourche is an entry in W. F. Pugh's "Journal", W. W. Pugh Papers (Archives Collection, the Library of the University of Texas), p. 16, July 15, 1862: "cavalry comp[any] went by [Woodlawn] to camp at Napoleonville."

with and aid to the enemy and treason to the state of Louisiana and the Confederate States of America.[14] Next McWaters was to seize the stages running along the River between Donaldsonville and New Orleans, sending the conductors and the hacks, as well as any passengers not giving a good account of themselves, to headquarters at Franklin. In the arrests and seizures "*there must be secrecy*." All sloops and schooners found "trading between the city and Donaldsonville and above" were to be taken to Thibodaux or destroyed. Should he need help in the execution of his orders, he might call upon the loyal citizens of the parishes. And he might, if the people of the Coast would aid him, attack the Federal picket guard at Kennerville on the east bank of the River sixteen miles above New Orleans.[15]

The most sweeping of McWaters' orders concerned disloyalty. He was to arrest and "forward" to Opelousas "all persons in the Parishes of St. John Baptist, St. Charles, St. James, Assumption and Ascension . . . who are giving aid and assistance to the enemy, or who have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States." Later supplemental orders and instructions gave McWaters discretionary authority to make arrests for offenses against the proclamations of the Governor of Louisiana and the President of the Confederate States. Prisoners were to be treated as their importance dictated. Many "whose position in life has no weight" were not worth much trouble and McWaters might deal with them summarily, requiring upon their release an oath and parole. "Prisoners of a higher order and whose offences and crimes may lead the people to join" were to be detained subject to the Governor's order. McWaters should "authorize someone to procure the necessary testimony and proof of the guilt of the party."

[14] For an earlier episode involving E. W. T. Burbank see Lathrop, "The Lafourche District in 1861-1862," 111.

[15] Orders No. 730 (Moore), July 7, 1862, and Grivot to McWaters, July 8, 1862, Martin Papers. Also in Martin Papers are a copy of a certificate by Andrew W. McKee, Major and Agent War Department, C.S.A., Washington, Louisiana, June 21, 1862, to the effect that McWaters was "regularly commissioned" in Confederate service, and that his receipts for subsistence and transportation would be duly paid; and a copy of Orders No. 728 (Moore), July 7, 1862, authorizing McWaters to seize and receipt for subsistence and forage.

> Captain, the Governor . . . hopes that your visits in the parishes on the river will be hailed with pleasure and will give life and animation and restore confidence At the first you must expect the people will feel displeased, as many look to the almighty dollar and care little about patriotism But after a while when they shall find that their interest will be with the south, they will join and aid you[16]

McWaters' supplemental instructions informed him that he might expect to be reënforced by the "Grivot Rangers," Captain S. D. Ashe. This St. Landry company had been sent to the Mississippi between Red River and Bayou Plaquemine on a mission similar to that of McWaters; a particular object was to render "unfit for enemy use" the Baton Rouge and Grosse Tete Railroad. On July 25 Ashe was directed to proceed down the coast of the Mississippi to report to McWaters in St. John the Baptist Parish. As he moved through the parishes he would carry out his original orders to arrest traitors and to seize or destroy vessels employed in trade with the enemy. Ashe's junction with McWaters, which took place the night of August 4, brought McWaters' total force to 114 men and 136 horses.[17]

McWaters had in the meantime begun promptly his measures against disloyalty, acting with enough vigor that professed Union men soon pled with Major-General Benjamin F. Butler, the Federal commander in New Orleans, to protect them from bands of partisan rangers.[18] Two of McWaters' prisoners, presumably the Burbank brothers, reached Opelousas

[16] Special Orders No. 76 (Moore), July 25, 1862, and Grivot to McWaters, July 25, 1862, Martin Papers.

[17] Special Orders No. 63 (Moore), July 9, 1862; "Instructions to Captain S. D. Ashe of Partisan Rangers" (Moore), July 12, 1862; Special Orders No. 75 (Moore), July 25, 1862; Grivot to Ashe, July 28, 1862; McWaters to Martin or Colonel W. W. Pugh, August 5, 1862. These documents are all in Martin Papers, the first four as copies.

[18] B. F. Coxe, Ascension Parish, Louisiana, Gen. B. F. Butler, July, 1862, and petition of various residents (all with German names) of the Vacherie Settlement, St. James Parish, Louisiana, to Butler, July 19, 1862, *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War* (5 vols., [Norwood, Mass.], 1917), II, 75, 89-90. (Hereinafter cited as *Butler Correspondence.)*

before July 25. According to the Adjutant and Inspector General, the prisoner from St. John the Baptist, i. e., S. N. Burbank, "admits that he has the flag of the U. S. at his house, which is waved by his family when the boat passes. The other [E. W. T. Burbank] I have but little doubt is as guilty[.] But they are both shrewd and sharp."[19] E. W. T. Burbank was soon released on parole, but imprisonment of his brother continued, bringing consequences that might easily have been predicted. In New Orleans a third Burbank appealed to Butler for assistance and vengeance. His brother S. N. was, he said, near St. Martinville, "confined in a hog pen without a blanket, and almost without clothes, and covered with vermin. He has been sick for two weeks without any attention whatever . . ." "They are murdering him slowly to get rid of him, so that it will not be said that they hung or shot him for fun, that you might retaliate on those that you hold here." Burbank asked that the release or parole of his brother be extorted from the Confederates by a retaliatory confinement of A. Deslonde, a paroled prisoner and "brother-in-law of Slidell and Beauregard." He also urged severity in dealing with the River parishes, and reported information concerning the Confederate military situation on Lafourche.[20] In compliance with Burbank's request, Butler sent Deslonde with a letter to "Officer Commanding Forces at Opelousas." Butler was, he said, holding Deslonde and others as "hostages for the safety of Mr. Burbank and other peaceable citizens of the United States who have been taken by your forces." He wished to know

> whether it is not possible that some arrangement be entered into by which the citizens who are quietly at home may be left unmolested. Of course this is a matter as regards numbers that may be arrested of much more importance to the forces which you command than it can be to me . . .[21]

The remaining steps in this affair did not find their way into

[19] Grivot to McWaters, July 25, 1862.

[20] Thomas S. Burbank to Butler, August 20, 27, 1862, *Butler Correspondence*, II, 216-217, 231-232.

[21] Letter of August 25, 1862, *Official Records*, ser. II, vol. IV, 431-432; also in *Butler Correspondence*, II, 217-218.

official correspondence; but S. N. Burbank survived to appear the next year in New Orleans as a good Union man.[22]

Governor Moore's rather fantastic hopes for rallying the River parishes, noticed above as one feature of McWaters' instructions, were expounded at length by M. Grivot, Adjutant and Inspector General, in a letter of July 23, 1862, to Brigadier-General Martin.

> Governor Moore directs me to say that he desires you would report to him the numbre [*sic*] of Companies, you have now in active service, and whether you have been able to obtain a Company from the River Parishes— If not, and this owing to the fact that the people of those Parishes have been parolised [*sic*] as it were by the fall of New Orleans, & have as yet not recovered from the effects—he can send, with orders to report to you, companies, with powers to act on the River Mississippi and to endeavour to restore confidence in the public mind—for it is only a restoration of Confidence that is required, and the people of the River Parishes will rise en masse against their oppressors.
>
> The recent events which have transpired at Vicksburg, by the action of the ram Arkansas . . . proves, that we are not so straightened [*sic*] as we were in our defences and with energy on the part of our Inhabitants and citizens, New Orleans can again be ours— The Arkansas it is reported will shortly trip it down the River & attack the boats at New Orleans when the River Parishes will see her on her way, they surely, to a man, will take their guns to the rescue. In fact our information from Gentlemen of the highest respectability of the Parishes, tells us that this is all that is wanted —Confidence & some one to urge the people on—
>
> Anything in the way of Companies will be endeavoured to send in that direction to aid & facilitate you . . .

Grivot closed upon a more subdued and realistic note. The Governor was, he said, trying to procure ammunition—a want

22 See his name among the signatories to a letter of October 14, 1863, in New Orleans *Times,* October 16, inviting A. J. Hamilton, Federal military governor of Texas, to give an address. Apparently he had returned to his objectionable Union ways soon after his release. See report of Lieutenant-Commander F. A. Roe, U. S. Navy, October 3, 1862, *Official Records. . . Navies,* ser. I, vol. XIX, 246.

greatly felt—and arms. "We have to do the best we can with the little means in our power—"

A fortnight after Grivot wrote, the *Arkansas* did come down river, her mission being to support an attempt to take Baton Rouge. But weakness in her machinery led to her inglorious destruction; and the Confederate assault upon the town failed with heavy loss (August 5). These events, though partly offset later by Federal withdrawal from Baton Rouge, were not of a kind to produce "a restoration of Confidence." Whether the Lafourche district and the River parishes would rally in spite of them remained to be seen.

A Letter From a Yankee Bride in Ante-Bellum Louisiana

Edited by JOHN Q. ANDERSON

who teaches at Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College.

IMMEDIATELY AFTER HER marriage to James Tyson Lane in 1857, Connecticut-born Emma Lay came with her husband to her father-in-law's Louisiana cotton plantation, Weston Place, in East Feliciana Parish, about eight miles from Clinton. While her husband scouted for a plantation of his own to move his slaves to, the bride amused herself by studying the plantation life which was so completely strange to her. In a letter to a friend in New England, she described a visit to church, elaborate meals, picking and ginning cotton, the slaves, and a Negro funeral. She soon fell in love with the South, was a loyal citizen of the Confederacy during the War, and died in Quincy, Illinois, about 1867. Because of its wealth of detail, Mrs. Lane's letter, with the exception of one paragraph, is quoted in full:

Weston Place
Clinton, La.
Oct. 6th, 1857

My dear Mrs. Rogers,

I have been waiting to get accustomed to my new home before writing to you because I knew you would wish to know everything about it, and I wanted to do it justice. We have been home six weeks last Saturday, and I like it better every week, though yesterday coming home from church I got a little blue contrasting these with home faces.

The church is between the size of ours and the Baptist, has no galleries, and doors at each end and at the sides, all oppo-

site for the air to circulate. The seat you occupy at home is vacant and I'm going to carry your picture and make it look homelike. The choir sit at the back of the church, and back of them the negroes sit, those who come with the carriages. (The negroes have a church and minister of their own). It is between seven and eight miles to church, so we have to get up earlier. Yesterday morning *we got up at half past eight.* We breakfast later than at home—and thanks to my Yankee blood I get up earlier than the rest.

We start for church half past nine and get home about half past two. The family carriage is large, holding Father, Mother, James, Eddie, Julia, Emma, and I, but James and I oftener go in a one-horse concern, a Boston gig like Mr. Gullie's, with James' pony, Charlie. The carriage horses are handsome-built animals, large and milk-white in color, so you see my "Par [Pa] Lane" goes in style. Henry, the carriage man, is a good looking nigger and as polite as can be. So much for the externals of going to meeting, except that after I get ready, Polly pulls down every fold of my dress, puts her hands up and down, and I look like a cheese "when I start." There is but one service in a day, and we get home to dinner.

I will tell you yesterday's dinner so you may know how we live: okra (or gumbo) soup, boiled ham, beef steak, broiled chicken, fried chicken and chicken pie, peas, Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, rice, hominy, peach jelly, muscadine jelly, and apply jelly, (onions for me), and coffee; for dessert, sweet potato pie and pound cake of any kind we wish or honey, and milk to drink. Of cows, I never saw such a number as are milked here. I counted twenty-three in the milk-yard, and I don't know how many are fattening, and then Aunt Nanny says, "Mistus, Uncle Gabe must go and buy some butter." The negroes all have all the milk and butter they want, which accounts for it.

The house stands at the foot of an avenue a quarter of a mile long, which leads to the house from the cars.[1] The yard

[1] This railroad, one of the oldest in the South, connected Clinton and Port Hudson.

in which the house itself stands is about as large as the smooth part of our green [village park] and is filled with china and sweet bay trees. In one corner is the dove house; then comes the kitchen, one room to cook in, another room where the house servants eat and upstairs where they sleep.

The house servants consist of Gabe, who is an old man of fifty years; he cuts wood, helps milk, and "converses," which last is about the most of his work. Polly to cook, or rather to help Aunt Nanny cook, (Polly is about thirty), and to do the chamber work. She is headwaiter and, in short, is in everybody's mess. She has all the keys to everything. Then there are Calvin, table waiter, etc., Hetty, table girl, George, table, and Hannah and Hetty to sew. By the kitchen is one store-room where the sugar barrels and flour and molasses, coffee sacks, tea-chests, preserves, etc., etc., are kept. Back of this is a smoke house.

On the other side is a store-room for dry goods, where the family goods to be made up are kept, pieces of cotton and linen, calico, gingham, muslin, berage, merino, delaine, blankets, shoes, negro cloth,[2] whale bone, hooks and eyes, etc., etc., just like a store; then come the granery, then the chicken-lot, then the carriage house and horse lot. I don't know how many horses there are. Then there are three negro houses, and this makes Weston Place. Then comes the plantation. The house stands at one end and the negro houses where the plantation hands live in the middle, so that we call going to where they live, the plantation. We go over by a road through thick woods, but wide enough for a carriage. In the first place comes the lot for the pigs. Then for the fattening cattle, etc., etc. Then comes a monstrous barn, then granery for the plantation, then blacksmith shop where Charles, one of the men, shoes the horses. He is the genius, can do anything—smart as any white man. Close by this is where he does joiner work. Further on is where the corn is ground, a huge mill, and hard-by is the cotton gin. We will stop here and rest a little while, and I'll tell you about the cotton. It grows

[2] Jeans, a durable cotton cloth in a twill weave.

on a shrub, higher than my head, in a kind of egg-shaped pod and about the size. This bursts open and contains the seeds and has to be ginned to separate it from the cotton. Of these bolls, as they are called, there may be two hundred on one stalk. The negroes have a large basket which they carry on the head when full. This is what they pick cotton in. I think it is as pretty a sight as I ever saw, the negroes (women and all) coming up to the gin, balancing these big baskets with the snowy cotton on their heads, contrasting so with their black faces. Some come kicking up their heels and dancing along as happy as Tilly, with a curtsy to young Missy and bow as may be, with the baskets all the while firmly standing.

They are just as merry a set of beings as ever you saw. I asked Peggy one day if she wasn't warm picking cotton in the hot sun. "Bless your putty eyes, Missy," said she, "taint too hot," and sure enough one of these cooler days, here she comes with yarn stockings, freezing to death. I please them, asking who wants to go home with me and tell them awful stories about the cold, at which they roll their white eyes in horror and scream out, "Laws, Missy, don't take me, please don't."

I began telling you about the gin, but to describe it you must come and see it. It comes like a snow-storm from the lint room, which is dark. It is so flaky and light, the cotton, I mean. From this we go to the houses, made of logs. First lives "Granny," and a nicer old nigger than sun never rose on. She is about sixty, after which they don't work. She, however, has worse than work. All the rest pick cotton till it's time to get their dinner and leave the babies with her, of which I should think there might be thirty. They almost all have an older sister or something of the kind to rock them, but thirty little imps all crying at once wouldn't be fine. It is amusing how soon they learn to be respectful to Master and Missy. When James and I go in, they come creeping up, sticking up their little hands, "Do, Mars James," "Do, Missy Emmy." If I hadn't a heart, I couldn't help loving the little black things. There is one, Joe, who *will* climb up on my

lap, despite all I can do, and puts his fingers square in my eyes and says, "Putty Missy eyes." I think of you and pup "Nigger" every time he begins his antics.

The oldest of the negroes died just before we came. They had a funeral sermon preached for him a week ago. The meeting was under some beech trees where seats had been fixed. All Father's negroes were there and a great many from the plantations around here. It was as simple and touching a meeting as I ever saw. Father had gone away, so James and I went over in all the dignity of Master and Mistress. They carried out rush bottom chairs for us, found the nicest shade and fixed us as comfortable as could be. They sang as sweetly as could be the hymn beginning "How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds" to begin the meeting. Then such a simple prayer just for such things as they needed. Then came the sermon from a negro preacher. The subject of it was death and judgment. He began by describing Christ in the manger, then followed Him through His childhood, His crucifixion and death. I never heard anything more beautiful, the simple Bible story. Then he told of His resurrection and how it availed for sinners. Then he told of sin and described the day of judgment of which he spoke thus: "And there shall dawn a day lighted not by the sun, but by the burning world, a day when the dead shall hear the thundering roll of the trumpet and stand before the great white throne of God." His pictures were grand. I was amazed. After the preaching was over, they all went to the grave and kneeled around it and sang "There is a Fountain Filled with Blood." Then came the prayer which was said somewhat after the manner of the litany in the Episcopal church, only the preacher half chanted the petitions, which were like this: "Lord, fit us for the day of judgment"; to which the negroes responded, "Good Lord, hear us." After they rose from their knees, still standing round the grave, they shook hands with us, promising to be good and faithful, etc. You would have cried your eyes out.

Then while we sat in Granny's house waiting for our car-

riage to be brought up, Louisa brought us a plate of chicken pot-pie and a cup of as nice coffee as you ever drank, swimming with rich cream. It was right acceptable too, for it was past dinner and we were hungry. I think every day I want you to come so much to see everything here. It is different from Connecticut, but I wouldn't come back, only for the sake of being with my friends . . . Tell my "Mar" (Ma) I got her letter and if I don't write today, will soon.

With love to everybody, I am your affectionate,

Emma Lay Lane.

Typescript of original letter in possession of Mrs. S. W. Plauche, Lake Charles, Louisiana, granddaughter of Mrs. Lane. The original was lost after the copy was made.

Pay the Preacher! Two Letters From Louisiana, 1864

Edited by WILLARD E. WIGHT

a member of the Department of Social Science, Georgia Institute of Technology.

THE CREATION OF THE Confederate States of America and the subsequent blockade and invasions of the South posed many problems for the individual churches of the various religious denominations, problems which they were all too frequently unable to meet. Attendance was often poor and those who did attend services frequently did so at considerable risk and discomfort. Conditions within the Confederacy hindered the convening of religious bodies, memberships were diminished, invasion and blockade required considerable adjustments in church practices to be made, many of the religious ministers and leaders were serving in the Southern armies. But of all the handicaps suffered by the churches of the Confederate states, it was the inflation resulting from the Confederacy's general financial plight which bore most heavily and which made the support of the churches and of the clergy a continuing problem. As the value of Confederate money decreased, many congregations raised minister's salaries, but these increases generally failed to keep pace with the inflation.

A partial solution to the problem of supporting clergymen was found in furnishing them provisions. The venerable Lovick Pierce of Georgia suggested in 1861 that parishioners give provisions to their minister and deduct the value of such contributions from their cash pledges.[1] The Quarterly Conference of the Sumter Circuit of the South Carolina Meth-

1 Richmond *Christian Advocate*, January 23, 1862.

odist Conference allowed its pastor salt, soap, tallow, firewood and other provisions for 1865 which were valued at $7,000, in addition to $1,600 in money.[2] For the same year the Iredell Circuit of the North Carolina Methodist Conference allowed its preacher provisions which had an aggregate value of $11,900 and which included vinegar, forage, jeans cloth, striped or checked cloth, domestics and leather.[3] On the Fayette Circuit of the Mississippi Methodist Conference, the good women of the Female Financial Association decided in April, 1865, "to make the preacher a suit to be black in color and one of the members to dye the cloth."[4]

That all Methodist ministers were not as fortunate is pointed up by the plight of the clergymen referred to in the letters here presented. One went away without full payment of his salary and the other, although possessing only one arm, was driven from his master's work and told by his parishioners to, "go dig with your one hand for your wife and little ones." To their everlasting glory, neither was driven from his calling.

While nothing is known, beyond what can be gleaned by internal evidence, concerning the writer of the first letter, something of the lives and characters of the Methodist ministers who loom large in the letters is of record.

James Earl Bradley was admitted on trial by the Louisville Methodist Conference in 1856 and two years later was admitted to full connection with that body and ordained a deacon. In 1859 he removed to Louisiana and was admitted to the Methodist Conference in that state where he served until his death with the exception of two years, 1875-1876, when he was a member of the Columbia Annual Conference

[2] MS Quarterly Conference Minutes, Sumter Circuit, South Carolina Annual Conference, 1844-1871, Quarterly Conference of December 20, 1864. South Carolina Conference Historical Society, Wofford College.

[3] MS Quarterly Conference Minutes, Irdell Circuit, North Carolina Annual Conference, 1852-1873, Quarterly Conference of January 28, 1865. Duke University.

[4] MS Origin, Constitution and Records of the Female Financial Association of Fayette Circuit, 1858-1865, Entry for April 13, 1865. Mississippi Conference Historical Society, Millsaps College.

in Oregon.[5] During the Civil War, Bradley served stations in the Opelousas District of Louisiana where he was active in succoring the needs of the Confederate soldiers as the following advertisement indicates:

> The citizens are aware of the fact that a great many of our brave and self-sacrificing soldiers have no clothing—are really in rags. It is also known that it is utterly impossible for them to purchase necessary articles with the small stipend, at the present exhorbitant rates. With these and other facts before the subscribers, they propose to raise a collection in money and all articles of clothing necessary to camp life, for the benefit of those soldiers who may lack. The generous citizens are now called upon, to aid the rebel—glorious name, — Washington was a rebel — substantially; while he fights and concludes the glorious struggle for political and religious liberty.
>
> The amount of money will be laid out in goods as fast as received; and while we do this, we earnestly request the ladies who have looms and wheels to send us word how many pairs of socks, how many yards of cloth, &c., they will subscribe. Communications through the Post Office attended to.
>
> Rev. Jas. E. Bradley
> Rev. B. F. White
> Rev. McConnell
>
> P.S. The subscribers propose to have the goods made up and kept here for delivery. Soldiers passing who need, will be furnished as fast as possible.[6]

By December 9, 1864, cash and clothing in the amount of $2771.30 had been received and all but $640 worth of it had

[5] New Orleans *Christian Advocate*, July 8, 1886; "Louisville Conference Minutes for 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859" in *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1845-1870*, 3 vols. (Imprint varies), I, 658, 738, 740; II, 7, 10, 103. "Louisiana Conference Minutes for 1859, 1860, 1861," *Ibid.*, II, 136, 234, 325.

[6] Unidentified newspaper advertisement, probably from the Opelousas *Courier*, dated August 6, 1864. The James E. Bradley and Family Papers, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University.

been distributed.[7] Later, when over $3000 worth had been collected, it was announced that $15,000 was the goal "if they meet with proper encouragement." The decision had also been reached to publish the names of contributors with the amounts subscribed and in what manner appropriated "to satisfy the public so that no one need apprehend a wrong direction of his donation."[8]

When Bradley died in his fifty-sixth year on March 11, 1886, at the Methodist parsonage at Lake Charles, Louisiana, it was said of him that he "was the true type of the Methodist itinerant preacher, promptly and cheerfully obedient to every call to duty, not complaining in arduous labor, constantly mindful of the best interests of the church, courteous towards all men, and, blending true humility with superior mental attainments, his work was always effective."[9]

The two letters here presented, reflecting one facet of Methodism in Louisiana during the last years of the Civil War, are from the James E. Bradley and Family Papers in the Department of Archives, Louisiana State University. Their publication is made possible through the courtesy and cooperation of V. L. Bedsole, Archivist, and his staff.

Plaquemine Brulee July 12th, 1864

Bro. Bradley.

I call you by the endearing name of Brother without having the right to do so yet I like the name and take the liberty to use it. Well then Bro. Bradley, I owe you one hundred Dollars which I shall pay in a one hundred dollar 7.30 note. You will ask why I owe you a hundred dollars. I heard you preach the truth in opelousas a short time since in regard to the difference made between the officers and soldiers of our army in regard to the manner in which and the unchristian spirit exhibited in turning away the poor soldier,

[7] Unidentified newspaper clipping, dated Opelousas, December 9, 1864, *ibid.*
[8] Unidentified newspaper clipping. This item is printed on wallpaper, *ibid.*
[9] New Orleans *Christian Advocate*, July 8, 1886.

naked, and hungry, and sick and dying, and at the same time worshipping the officer who is already well provided for, unfortunately I am one of the *wayside hearers* and consequently do not recollect the whole tenor of your discourse, but to my mind on that day it was *sound logical* and *truthful* and ought to have been *convincing*. It must have been a hard lick you gave some of them for I was told on the same evening that there were some of those officer worshippers there and it may be some were there, that had danced with the officer on the *blood* of the soldier, that *blood* that was consecrated to the cause of our country. I repeat it was a hard *lick* but they *deserved* it. it was truth. next truth (not only truth you have told but the truth I owe you for, is the rap you gave the *close fisted* methodist yesterday evening. how when giving money for any benevolent purpose they would squeeze the eagle (I almost expected to hear you say until it squealed) how firmly they would grasp the paltry trash that we call money and hoard it up, and at the same time let their preacher go away penniless to starve, it was another one of your hard raps over the knuckles but it was *truth*, we as a people deserve it. I was once a praying methodist, it does not become me to say what I did or did not do at that time, but I can tell what we as a church done. we sent the Rev. B. F. White[10] away without his salary being paid in full, but worse than that we sent away the Rev. Dan Watkins with his one arm to dig for the

10 Benjamin Franklin White, a fellow laborer with Bradley in the cause of the Confederate soldier, was born at Franklin, Tennessee, September 3, 1827. During the Mexican War he served in the 1st Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers, in 1852 he was licensed and received on trial by the Tennessee Annual Conference, and in 1856 was transferred to the Louisiana Conference where he was later ordained by Bishop Joshua Soule to the office of deacon. In spite of his clerical office, White is said to have served as captain of a battery of artillery in the Confederate Army and to have "fired the first gun in defense of Vicksburg." In addition to ministering as pastor of numerous churches in nearly all sections of Louisiana, served the Opelousas Female School in 1866, Centenary College as agent in 1871, and from 1872 to 1874 was presiding elder of the Opelousas District. One of four brothers who were preachers, he was retired in 1901 and died at Alexandria January 6, 1904. (*Minutes of the Fifty-Ninth Session of the Louisiana Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Held in Lake Charles, Louisiana, December Seventh to Twelfth Nineteen Hundred and Four*, Covington, Louisiana, n.d., 64-65.) Of him, and other early Methodist preachers like him, Robert H. Harper wrote in his *Louisiana Methodism* (Washington, 1949, 93): "There were giants in the earth in those days."

support of his needy family.[11] we drove him from his masters work and said to him in effect go dig with your one hand for your wife and little ones. you would ask who hath done this thing, and as a whole you may point to the close fisted praying methodist and say thou art the man. we have driven him away from his sphere of usefulness when a few hundred dollars (of our rags that we are almost ready now to light our pipes with) would have continued him in his sphere of usefulness amongst us. and today he might under God, have been here in God's earthly sanctuary inviting the sinner to turn from the error of his way, he might today have been with you advocating the cause of his Blessed master, and a more zealous advocate for the cause of Religion I never saw in the sacred desk than old Dan Watkins. But we have driven him away. we drove him and his dependent family away out in the wilderness to dig or starve. But we could not drive his heart away from us so easy. no, that was at his own disposal and he left it with us, listen, he says in a letter to me. Oh how I long to be in Plaquemine Brulee again, to preach you some of the sermons that I have studied out between the *plough handles,* although sent away empty, although he had to sell his horses and buggy (the only means he had of getting to his appointments) to pay his honest debts, although turned out of doors in opelousas and that by praying methodists. although turned out to depend on his own exertions and on a cold and unfriendly world yet he remembers us in his prayers, all this is the work of close fisted methodism. Bro. Bradley preach about this close fisted methodism wherever you go,

11 Daniel S. Watkins, he of the one arm, was born in Washington Parish, Louisiana, December 16, 1821. Converted in 1842, he was licensed to preach in 1844 and received on trial by the Mississippi Annual Conference the next year. When the Louisiana Annual Conference was formed in January, 1847, Watkins was an organizing member but was not present at the meeting. From 1860 through 1863, he was stationed at Opelousas Station which in 1861 had 240 white members, 25 white probationers and 75 colored members. In 1864, he is listed in the Conference Minutes as serving in Texas. He transferred in 1865 to the East Texas Annual Conference where he served until retired in 1886. The next year he died, while on his way to a Sunday appointment. See *Minutes of the Forty-Third Annual Session of the East Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Held at Marshall, Texas, Dec. 7-12, 1887* (Tyler, Texas, 1888), 36-37; Harper, *Louisiana Methodism,* 84.

if it grates harshly on the ear, let it grate, it is truth and it is your mission to tell the truth. I give you this 7.30 note which you can convert into five Dollar notes and with them you can buy something for the use of your family, and possibly continue you that much longer in your sphere of influences in the work that God has given to you to do, but I fear the time is coming when *old* Bradley will become too complacent for modern methodism, his family will become too numerous, his wants too great, we will have used him long enough and then turn him out to graze. Oh is there, can there be, one spark of vital religion where money is the God. I must close lest I weary you. But, that you use the sword of truth to the dividing between the sinner and his sins, between the miserly methodist and his money God, is the prayer of your friend

V. C. Clarke

That you will remember me daily at your devotions. present me by name at a throne of grace is my earnest desire VCC

Aug. 8, 1864

Bro. V. C. Clarke

My Very Dear Sir: — I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your correspondence, dated July 12th 1864, and the contents ($100, at 7.30). In making this acknowledgment, I must confess that I feel it is not because of any ability in my possession, that you were prompted to be so generous towards me by word and act, but rather through a benevolent spirit indulged toward a laborious branch of the clergy.

Be assured that it rejoices my heart to call you brother, (for you have done a brother's part) and much more, to have you use the same hearty Christian expression toward me. Though out of the Church; Yet I am satisfied fully that you intend beating your onward & upward march toward those fields of elysion glory prepared by him "who liveth forever and ever," and who is "King of Kings and Lord of Lords."

Of course it would be a gratification to me of no ordinary degree to know that you enjoyed a full measure of divine love; having full assurance to a crown incompatable, undefiled and that fadeth not away, eternal in the heavens. But sir, I enjoy the belief that you are making proper efforts in this direction and that ultimately all will be well. God grant that I may not be deceived in my judgment.

Your communication is very severe upon a class pretty numerous who fail to do their duty respecting the *proper support* of their ministers. But in my humble opinion the blows though heavy are well-timed. Would that such "shells" were more frequently thrown into the enemy's stronghold. Perhaps we would have a holier church, a happier people, and a more attentive world to the truths of the Gospel of life. Some of the noblest minds of the Methodist ministry have been crushed or driven from the field, because of such wretched apologists of Christianity—miserable misers, who count it all gain to stint their preachers and defraud him of his just earnings, and then go to church to sing psalmody. These same individuals pay their taxes for state privileges. They pay the teacher of their children. They pay their physician who looks after their miserable bodies; they pay their grocer or salesman; but their *preacher is last and least,* and sometimes altogether forgotten. They not infrequently pay or give their Negroes more pocket money (to each one) than they pay to their minister. Sometimes, when they contribute to his support they select the worst of the flock, contrary to the divine law.

I know not the people of your section; they like yourself, have always treated me most kindly. God forbid that they should be classed among vain & wicked professors, who do more real harm to Christianity than all the infidel works combined. I'd rather live with the generous sinner than to company with such hirelings of the Prince of the powers of the air.

God helping me I expect to battle for my master while life & ability remain.

Praying God's mercies to abide with you and yours,

I remain your humble brother in Christ,

Jas. E. Bradley

Aug. 8, 1864

Vignettes

THE STATUE OF MARGARET HAUGHERY

". . . New Orleans is, with every reason, proud of having erected the first statue in America to a woman, a humble Irish heroine who could neither read nor write, and whose signature was a cross. But she made her sign in memory of Him Who said, 'Suffer little children to come unto Me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.'

"Margaret Haughery began life as a chamber-maid. She saved money, and, having been brought up on a farm, bought 'a dun cow,' sold the milk, made a beginning in this way, saved more money, and invested in a small bakery. The bread was excellent; she was prompt in her delivery and prospered, until at last the little bakery developed into an immense money-making affair worked by steam, which yielded her a fortune. But from the moment she began to prosper she began to give. Her heart was not the heart of a mother whose love is centered only in her own children; she was one of those gifts from God, a universal mother to the lonely children in a hard world. All orphans, those poor and friendless little ones found in her a tender mother who worked early and late to provide for their needs and give them homes. She had good business capacity and succeeded in her various enterprises. She built St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum facing the Square. What joy it must have given her big heart to see the foundations laid! She helped to build St. Elizabeth's Industrial Home for Girls, and when she died the whole of her fortune was distributed among different charities for the children whom she loved so well.

"Although Margaret was a good Catholic, her intelligence was too large for sectarianism. Jews and Protestants were alike to her—they were little, they were helpless, they were babies,—she gave from her largesse to them all. Her will, leaving the whole of her savings to New Orleans orphanages and homes, was signed with her blessed mark, a cross, and now, . . . Margaret's face is turned toward the windows of her Orphanage, and the children stand at twilight look back and say, 'There is dear Margaret. I wish I might have known her.' And the very marble seems to smile. The face is rugged and broad, but strong and kind and even distinguished, as every face must

be that is illumined by a divine spirit from within. She is plainly dressed and wears a crochet shawl, her Sunday best, made by tiny fingers that, but for her, might have perished by the wayside. Keep guard, dear mother's heart, over those helpless ones who are taught by the gentle nuns always to remember you in their innocent prayers."

Mrs. T. P. O'Connor, *My Beloved South* (New York, 1914), 205-207.

Louisiana State University — The Editors

JOHN ROY AND THE DEFENSE OF NEW ORLEANS – 1862

"Went to town and found that the Yanky fleet had passed the Forts and were coming up the River. Went to Commodore Whittle: asked him to let me have the Floating Battery to mount the Spare guns around the Customs House, upon which were seven. He Said: 'Take her.' I done so, and had commenced to get the guns on board when a Naval Officer got the Commodore to take her from me and gave her to him. I took my men off the Battery and Bradford got a lot of soldiers with pipes in their mouth, who might fight but would not work, so that he prevented me from doing anything with the Battery and could do nothing himself. I then went to a meeting of citizens and tried to get command of the Fire Boats. But there was so much discussion about it that I despaired of being able to do anything. So I went to General Smith; got an order to lease a steamboat and go to the upper Forts and get 3 - 42 lb. and take them to Fort McGee, and fight them with what men I could raise. I got the Morgan Nelson and 29 men, but had no provisions. Went to the free market and begged for enough to live for 2 days and Mr. Murrey gave us just what we wanted. We then left for the forts above, dismounted 3 –42s and got them on board by morning."

John Roy, Diary, April 24, 1862. Department of Archives, Louisiana State University

Istrouma High School — James O. Lang

ALEXANDRIA MARKET IN 1836

State of Louesianna Rappide Parrish

Alexandria October the 25 - 1836

". . . In respects produce I will say to you that it would not make any material difference about ingageing produce for Alexandria is a fine market for all kind of produce and it will redally command

cash. Corn is all ways worth one dollar per barrel, that is a flower barrel full of years or one bushel and a half sheld corn. Flower is worth at this time #.14 per barrel but I think it will fall. Porke is worth $.22 per barrel and I think will keep high all the season. Those artacles are in demand and will sell redally for cash. I live 8 miles below Alexandria on red River. My famelly will remain on the plantation all this winter and if you Should visit those parts please doe me the plasure to call and get aquainted with my famelly whether I am to home or not my overseer will allso bee on the plantation. I have no more news to give you so a due by subscribing Myself,"

Yours Varry truly
s/s Richard George
Richard Pruett

My respects to your famelly

This letter is in the possession of the undersigned.

Houston, Texas P. S. Luttrell

AN EARLY SURVEY OF NATCHITOCHES

"Pursuant to an Order from the Surveyor of the Lands of the United States south of the State of Tennessee and in conformity with the request of Piere Ganea Claimant I have Surveyed a tract of Land on both sides of Red River above Campty—Being Section No. in Township No. Range No. and bounded as follows viz.—Beginning at a Mulberry and up the River on the East side N. 15 W. 54 poles to a Cedar State thence N. 51 E. 120 poles to a White Oak thence S. 15 E. 54 poles to a White Oak thence S. 51 W. 120 poles to the beginning thence across the River to a Hackberry thence S. 88 W. 54 poles to a Gum thence N. 3 E. 30 poles to a Hackberry thence N. 72 E. 40 poles to a Hackberry thence down the River S. 15 E. 44 poles to the begining Hackberry——Containing 38 acres on the East side of the River and 11 Acres & 23 Hundredths of an Acre on the West side of the Same and having such Shape form and marks natural and artificial as is represented in the above Plat——The 14th of Jany 1806."

Sam Cook Deputy Survr
Natchitoches County

Northwestern State College George A. Stokes

Notes and Comments

PERSONALS

The Department of Social Studies, Louisiana State University in New Orleans: *New Appointments*: E. Frank Masingill, formerly of Louisiana College, as Associate Dean of Men and assistant professor of history; Thomas W. Africa, formerly of the University of California at Santa Barbara, assistant professor; Joseph L. Brent, Ph. D. from the University of California at Los Angeles, assistant professor; Stephen E. Ambrose, Ph. D. candidate at the University of Wisconsin, instructor. *Promotions:* Thomas F. Harwood to assistant professor.

The Department of Social Studies, Southwestern Louisiana Institute: *New Appointments:* Norman B. Ferris, assistant professor; Carroll C. Gates, temporary instructor. *Leave of Absence:* Paul J. Stewart, Jr., who is on a Fulbright scholarship. *Resignations:* Robert M. Albert and Robert R. Miller.

The Department of History, Louisiana College: F. Jay Taylor appointed Dean of the College. Dr. Taylor also spent August in Washington, D. C., doing research on the biography of General Claire Lee Chennault.

Louisiana Polytechnic Institute's Department of Social Sciences: *New Appointments:* Edward H. Mosely, Ph. D. candidate at the University of Alabama, assistant professor of history; Philip Shea, Ph. D. candidate at Michigan State University, instructor in geography. *Resignation:* J. Byron Patrick to accept a position with a church-affiliated college in Massachusetts. Dr. G. W. McGinty has prepared an 8,000 word article and short biographies on 25 prominent Louisianians for the *Collier's Encyclopedia.* Dr. R. O. Trout is preparing a film strip on the geography of Louisiana which will be available for the high schools in the state. On August 7-27, Dr. McGinty and Dr. Trout conducted the Tenth Educational Tour which traveled in 16 western states, studying the history and geography of the area. Six semester hours were earned by those who successfully completed the study requirements of the tour. Dr. W. Y. Thompson spent the summer doing research for his forthcoming biography of Robert Toombs.

The Department of History, Louisiana State University: *New Ap-*

pointments: Burl Noggle, formerly of New Mexico State University, and Donald Higginbotham, formerly of Longwood College, as assistant professors. *Leave of Absence:* J. Preston Moore to do research in Spain on a biography of Antonio de Ulloa on a Guggenheim Fellowship. *Resignation:* K. K. Bailey to accept a position at Texas Western College of the University of Texas.

The Department of Social Sciences, Southeastern Louisiana College: *New Appointments:* Dawson Crim, instructor in government; Don Ira Richards, temporary instructor. *Leave of Absence:* Howard Nichols to pursue work toward a Ph. D. at Louisiana State University. *Resignation:* John Reed to complete work on Ph. D. in sociology at Louisiana State University. Dr. Sidney J. Romero spent the summer doing research for a book on *Confederate Chaplains.*

Tulane University's History Department: *Promotions:* Charles P. Roland to professor; Phillip Detweiler to associate professor.

The Department of Social Sciences, McNeese State College: *New Appointments:* Martin Hall, formerly of Louisiana State University in New Orleans, assistant professor of history.

State Archives and Records Commission: In late July John C. L. Andreassen, Secretary-Treasurer of Louisiana Historial Association since its reorganization in 1958, was dismissed as Director of the State Archives and Records Service and was suceeded by John E. Regard, a Marksville businessman. Mr. Andreassen had returned to Louisiana after an absence of some years in January, 1955, to make a survey of the local and state archives of Louisiana. After the creation of the State Archives and Records Commission by legislative act in 1956, he became the first Director. In the late 1930's Mr. Andreassen was Director of the Louisiana Historial Records Survey and after that time served as Director of Administrative Services of the Library of Congress.

ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS

On May 8, 1960, twenty members of the Central Louisiana Historical Society made a field trip to Port Hudson where they viewed the battlefield and studied remains of the old fortifications of the area.

The New Iberia Colonials, Miss Alice Gates, President, have completed plans for their 1960-61 program year. The group will study the history of states, other than Louisiana, made wholly or in part from the Louisiana Purchase territory. Mrs. Earl Hall, Sr., is chairman of the program committee for the year.

The Opelousas Tourist Center and Museum, Mrs. L. A. Fontenot,

Jr., commission chairman, states that during the second year of operation ending July, 1960, over 11,000 visitors from all 50 states and 24 foreign countries toured the museum and tourist center. Recently the Center added the following acquisitions: Acadian handicraft souvenirs, phonograph records of Acadian folk songs, copy of a suit filed against Jim Bowie in Opelousas by Jese Andrus for the return of a mulatto slave girl or $1,200, copy of Rezin Bowie, Jr.'s marriage certificate, a .54 caliber bullet fired by Union troops into the New Iberia city hall and removed in 1949, a copy of *Huey Pierce Long* by Harvey G. Fields. The Center also sponsored various fund raising functions to help pay for the Ben Prather collection purchased by the museum last August.

The Southwest Louisiana Historical Society is making an effort to collect archival material for Southwest Louisiana using the Lake Charles Public Library as depository. In collaboration with the Lake Charles chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Daughters of the American Revolution, an effort is being made to collect genealogies of the pioneer families of the region.

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Louisiana Academy of Sciences met on April 28, 29, and 30, 1960, at Northwestern State College. George A. Stokes presided over the first Social Science session, where the following papers were read: E. Frank Masingill, Louisiana College, "The Role of Henry Lane Wilson in the Overthrow and Assassination of Francisco Madero"; Ervin Mancil, Southeastern Louisiana College, "Some Aspects of Deep-Swamp Logging"; Ben Kaplan, Southwestern Louisiana Institute, "Sociological Changes in the Jewish Family." Yvonne Phillips was the chairman of the second Social Science session, where the following papers were presented: LeRoi Eversull, Northwestern State College, "Some Notes on the Origins and Evolution of the Louisiana Range Cattle Industry"; Lorimer E. Storey, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, "The Louisiana Legislative Policy on Second Primaries for State Officers, 1906-1960"; John H. McCarter, Jr., Consultant Geologist, Monroe, "Discovery and Development of the Monroe Gas Field and its Relationship to the Monroe Area." On the afternoon of April 29, Mrs. John S. Kyser acted as guide for a tour of historic Natchitoches.

MISCELLANY

C. Harvey Gardiner, Professor of History, Southern Illinois University, announced completion of plans for an 8-volume bibliography of travel literature on Latin America in recent times. The series, con-

ceived with the co-operation of the Southern Illinois University Press, is intended to enrich and broaden the base for research in the area of Latin American independence, particularly in reference to social and cultural aspects. Among the contributors will be Dr. J. Preston Moore, Professor of History, Louisiana State University, in the field of Peru and Ecuador. Professor Gardiner is serving as general editor of the series. The first two volumes are tentatively set for publication in 1962-63 and thereafter it is hoped that the project can be completed at the rate of two volumes a year.

John C. L. Andreassen, former Director of the State Archives and Records Service, was made a Fellow of the Society of American Archivists at the annual dinner of the society at Boston, October 6, 1960. The nomination and election was made by the Committee on Professional Standards, of which Dr. Oliver W. Holmes is the 1960 chairman.

The Office of the Secretary of State reports the passage of the following acts during the 1960 session of the legislature which pertain to Louisiana history, archives, museums, parks, etc. Copies of the original acts may be secured from the Office of the Secretary of State.

Camp Moore Confederate Cemetery, presence after 7 P.M.—Act 338
Clinton Confederate Memorial Cemetery, appropriation—Act 473
Edward Douglas White Memorial Commission, created—Act 16
Flags, U. S., State and Confederate, desecration—Act 544
Jackson Confederate Memorial Cemetery, appropriation—Act 474
Louisiana Civil War Centennial Commission, created, appropriation—Act 587
Louisiana Commission on Cultural Resources, creation—Act 419
Louisiana Commission on Cultural Resources, creation, appropriation—Act 586
Louisiana Historical Association materials, printing—Act 491
Louisiana State University Law Library, depository for Courts of Appeal records—Act 37
Membership lists, destruction after six years—Act 390
Membership lists, exemptions from filing—Act 373
Municipalities and parishes, etc., authority to act jointly—Act 91
Orleans Parish Landmarks Commission, appropriation—Act 529
Parks and Recreation:
    Commission, creation, etc.—Act 451
    Livingston Parish Recreation District, created—Act 357
    Parks in Concordia and Richland Parishes—Act 446

Register of State Land Office to grant permits for recreational improvements—Act 583
Roadside parks in Lafourche, Terrebonne, and Assumption Parishes—Act 253
Public Safety, Central Records Bureau, establishment—Act 216
Records, electronically processing information, privileged or confidential status—Act 371
Records, revenue, confidential nature—Act 372
Recorders of blueprint plans, destruction of plans—Act 434
Revised Statutes and Legal Archives, distribution—Act 392
Appropriations in the General Appropriations Act—Act 20:
Printing history of Louisiana—Sch. 25
Archives and Records Commission—Sch. 30
Camp Moore Confederate Cemetery—Sch. 36
Confederate Memorial Hall—Sch. 43
Louisiana State Museum—Sch. 60
Old State Capitol Memorial Commission—Sch. 62
Recreation Commission—Sch. 65
Custodian of Notarial Records, Orleans Parish—Sch. 86

SAVE OUR HISTORIC BUILDINGS

The Editor
The Salt Lake *Tribune*
Salt Lake City, Utah

Dear Sir:

"This noon I overheard the conversation of two young businessmen who were admiring the model of the proposed Civic Center displayed in your Main Street window. Their thought was that if one built the new buildings and then 'pulled down that old cuss over there'—pointing with evident distaste to the present City-County Building, 'Salt Lake City would have a *real* Civic Center.'

"If one pulled down not only 'that old cuss' but the Temple, the Tabernacle, the Lion House, the Eagle Gate, the house of the Utah State Historical Society and the This is the Place Monument, and then, by concerted use of modern earth-moving equipment, levelled

the mountains that ring the city, using the material thus obtained to fill in the Great Salt Lake, Salt Lake City would not only have a Civic Center of the 1960 fashion but would look like almost every other city in the United States and some in the Netherlands and Israel."

Walter Muir Whitehill, Director of the Boston Athenaeum, in *Historic Preservation*, XII (1960, No. 2), 75.

———

"Maryland, which has suffered little by fire, war or flood or storm, has preserved only two courthouses of the eighteenth century, that of Queen Anne's County, dating from the last quarter of that century, and one other at Easton, which is now encased in a Georgian structure of 1958; while Virginia, which has been ravaged by war, can still boast of a number of beautiful courthouses of the Colonial period."

"H.D.B." (Mrs. Helen Duprey Bullock, Historian, The National Trust for Historic Preservation) in *Historic Preservation*, XII (1960, No. 2), 77.

Book Reviews

THIS INFERNAL WAR, The Confederate Letters of Sgt. Edwin H. Fay. Edited by Bell Irvin Wiley. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958. viii, 474 pp. Portrait, appendixes, index. $6.00.)

Edwin H. Fay, a schoolmaster from Minden, Louisiana, joined the Confederate army on April 4, 1862. Two days later he commenced writing his wife a long series of highly informative letters, 115 of which were preserved and are presented here. Fay was no ordinary soldier for he held both the B.A. and the M.A. degrees from Harvard University. His erudite letters are therefore of considerable value for they present a well-educated enlisted man's adventures in and opinions on life in the Southern army. They also reveal an individual whose picayune nature left much to be desired as far as the welfare of state and nation were concerned.

Fay considered himself a staunch Confederate patriot. He ran for a seat in the Louisiana Secession Convention, and throughout his letters voiced hope for Southern success, expressed his detestation of Yankees, and adamantly declared that he would never live under Yankee domination. It is curious, then, that such a zealot did not join the army—the vehicle by which his South might achieve independence—until a year after hostilities had begun. And once in the service it was hardly a month before Fay was doing his utmost to obtain a release. With his every subterfuge ending in failure, this "patriot" became progressively bitter. This bitterness is a major factor in the value of Fay's letters. Being so caustic—and literarily fluent, hardly *any* aspect of Confederate army life escaped his hypercritical observation and evaluation. Had he not been so disillusioned, he probably would not have gone to the trouble of describing and berating the many details of the service that displeased him. It appears that Fay was sincere in his Southern patriotism. But he was too self-centered, too concerned about his wife and family, and too short-sighted to realize that by refusing to exert his utmost effort in the war, he was contributing to the downfall of his civilization and the cause which he considered just.

Fay saw minor action in the Western theatre, but near the war's end managed to secure a transfer to the Trans-Mississippi Depart-

ment. Here he was later promoted to captain and given a "soft" quartermaster desk job. But he was still far from satisfied and continued to complain. While Lee's gallant troops stood hungry and ragged at Petersburg, Fay wrote of his own dinners of "pork and cabbage, gumbo, beef in various forms, but often wild duck baked."

Fay's letters were preserved by his family and are now in the possession of Lucy E. Fay, the author's youngest child. Miss Fay transcribed the letters for publication and supplied Bell Wiley with important family information to enable him to edit them in the creditable manner that he has. In addition to Wiley's excellent introduction, the volume includes brief explanatory remarks about relatives and other non-military figures mentioned in the letters, a roster of the Minden Rangers, and a comprehensive index.

McNeese State College MARTIN HARDWICK HALL

LOUISIANA—The Pelican State. By Edwin Adams Davis. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959. xi, 356 pp. Illustrations, maps, index. $4.95.)

In Edwin A. Davis' *Louisiana—The Pelican State,* a long-felt need had been met for an up-to-date history of Louisiana in one volume. Dr. Davis brings to his task a superior awareness of the history of his adopted State. Carefully and keenly he has worked to produce a mature, intelligent reappraisal of historical events, which is an enlightened study of Louisiana. His forthright literary style combined with sincerity, understanding, and the indefatigable choice of the right word at the right time, makes the book acceptable and enjoyable to all persons of all ages who love history.

One of the most satisfying aspects of the volume, which has been divided into eight parts, thirty-two chapters, is the fact that the author has admirably succeeded in encompassing that which is important to a State history. This is a comprehensive and significant study of the illustrious history of an illustrious State. It is of interest both to the student and to the historian. Organized in a logical chronological manner, the book carries the avid reader from the geological formation of the land to its discovery by LaSalle in 1682, and on through the colorful years to events transpiring as late as 1958. Pertinent and salient facts have not been sacrificed, nor does the author "gloss over." The graphic narrative style is crystal clear, and the format is most attractive.

Of outstanding value is the inclusion of maps, illustrations, reprints of old pictures and photographs. Data concerning the industry, commerce, economic development, and the vast resources of our State are presented in a most informative manner. Based upon historical fact, the progression in these fields is combined with an almost infinite variety of pertinent information concerning the sociological changes in each period. The cultural developments of successive eras are so well reported as to lend further authenticity to the lucid, easily followed story. Fascinating, too, are the folk songs, "dittys," campaign songs, superstitions, folk lore, and personal vignettes which add immeasurably to the enjoyment of the history-story.

Louisiana—The Pelican State is an outstanding account of historical events, and, more particularly, it is an important book—sufficiently important to become a permanent part of the collection of all lovers of the history of our beloved State of Louisiana.

Hamilton Terrace Junior High School MARGARET M. BRADBURY

THE LOST PANORAMAS OF THE MISSISSIPPI. By John Francis McDermott. (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1958. xi, 211 pp. Appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

The panoramas restored to life in this intriguing book were painted on canvas strips about four feet wide and hundreds of yards long. During exhibitions the canvas was unrolled from one upright roller and moved across the stage before the viewers to the other side, where it was taken up by another roller. The scenes depicted notable places and events, and as they moved past the illusion of reality was heightened by a colorful narration, skillful lighting, and the playing of appropriate music. These newsreel-travelogues were popular in this country and in Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century, and one, by John Banvard, was summoned for a command performance at Windsor.

The first chapter, perhaps the most interesting part of the book, summarizes the development of panorama display techniques, and indicates how spectacular they must have seemed in an age of limited visual experience. The next five chapters describe five great panoramas, each by a different artist, devoted to the portrayal of scenes and events along the Mississippi River and some of its tributaries.

The Mississippi panoramas are lost, but the search for information concerning them yielded accounts of the artists' experiences during

their preparation. These remarkable men traveled along the river, making sketches and gathering information for the narrations. Among the illustrations excellently reproduced in the book are such subjects as the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo, the burning of the steamer "Ben Sherrod," and the plantation of General Zachary Taylor. The disappearance of the panoramas is made doubly regrettable by the fact that the artists, painting the same scenes and competing directly with one another, apparently strove for accuracy in their work. Pictures of early settlements are sometimes as valuable in the reconstruction of landscapes as any map or written account.

Professor McDermott has used the pigments of his literary skill and the firm canvas of his research to paint for us an attractive view of an art form almost entirely forgotten. We are given engaging glimpses of life along the Mississippi, and are reminded of the extent to which we depend upon physical symbols in retaining the memory of a culture trait.

Northwestern State College GEORGE A. STOKES

WHERE THE WORD ENDS, The Life of Louis Moreau Gottschalk. By Vernon Loggins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958. xii, 273 pp. Bibliographical note, index. $3.95.)

Where the Word Ends is an appropriate title for this account of the life and artistic labors of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, Louisiana's greatest son in the field of music and "the first American to manifest a marked genius for playing the piano and for composing piano music." His musical compositions and his piano performances eloquently expressed the feelings of his soul—there the word ended as a descriptive factor. He was a romantic, who lived barely beyond the close of the South's romantic age; more accurately, perhaps, it could be said that he was of the same romantic Creole strain as Beauregard, both were first "gentlemen from New Orleans" and while the one battled with men the other engaged himself with piano notes on the concert stage. In an even broader sense, he was a romantic in the spirit of Byron and Shelley and Poe for he had keen wit coupled with an iconoclastic spirit, was an easy conversationalist, possessed considerable talent as a writer, and was a man of pity with a definite streak of quixotic altruism.

Born in New Orleans in 1829, by the time he was thirteen Gottschalk had mastered "all that could be taught about the art of piano

playing" by his local teachers. At the age of twenty-seven, he had completed his European education in piano and composition, had served his apprenticeship as a performing artist, and was acclaimed in France, Switzerland, and Spain as the peer of Franz Liszt and Frederic Chopin. The rest of his life (he died in Rio de Janeiro at the age of forty) was spent in North and South America in the desperate attempt to support a long list of relatives and hangers-on. He had long since learned, like Mozart and his father Leopold had learned, that in order to succeed as a performing artist in an immature and sometimes raw civilization one had to embody the potentialities of an impresario, composer, impeccable performer and showman, all in one person.

Author Vernon Loggins admirably succeeds in this portrayal of the life of Louis Moreau Gottschalk. The reader will enjoy the exploits and performing successes of the composer-performing artist in Europe, the West Indies, South America and the United States, in Paris, New York, Rio de Janeiro, and San Francisco. He will learn to understand how life affects a sensitive artist by living through that fateful day of February 24, 1848, in Paris, our own War between the States, and a typical western melodramatic experience in San Francisco. He will appreciate the success of Gottschalk's compositions, the thematic material which had come from the New Orleans Negro tunes which had engulfed his childhood. If the reader is interested in romance, life, music, New Orleans, or in America, he will be thoroughly pleased with this book.

Louisiana State University LOUIS FERRARO

SO GREAT A GOOD, A History of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana and of Christ Church Cathedral, 1905-1955. By Hodding Carter and Betty W. Carter. (Sewanee, Tennessee, The University Press, 1955. 447 pp. Illustrations, appendix, index, $5.00)

The Sesquicentennial of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana was celebrated in November, 1955, as the founding of Christ Church Cathedral in New Orleans and of the Diocese of Louisiana. *So Great A Good* was written as a part of this celebration although the diocese was not formally organized until 1838.

The distinguished journalist, Hodding Carter, of the Greenville (Miss.) *Delta Democrat,* and his wife share the authorship of this book. Mrs. Carter did the research in conjunction with a committee

of the diocese and the Dean of Christ Church Cathedral. Mr. Carter put it into words.

The history of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana had a strange beginning. Shortly after the Louisiana Purchase a group of English speaking Christians in New Orleans organized a Protestant Church. They voted to seek an Episcopal priest as their minister, though most of them were not Episcopalians. Philander Chase came to New Orleans at the request of the Bishop of New York, and through his work the newly organized group became Christ Episcopal Church.

The parish struggled for thirty-three years before it was able to join with the two others which were subsequently founded and organized the Diocese of Louisiana in 1838. Shortly thereafter the diocese received a bishop, the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk, and began a tremendous expansion which resulted in the establishment of the Church in all parts of Louisiana.

The remainder of the account carries the story of the Episcopal Church in Louisiana to 1955. They have packed a great deal of information into these pages, and the book fills a real gap in the religious history of the South.

So Great A Good is well written and the author's editorial ability clearly stands out. For the amount of time available and the resources at hand it is an excellent piece of work. One of its outstanding features is the selection of illustrations which accompany the text. It is fully indexed and sources are mentioned in the foreword. Footnotes are unfortunately lacking.

Perhaps the greatest defect, if it can be called a defect, is the inherent problem of writing religious history. With the objectivity of newspaper people and the viewpoint of laymen in theological matters, the authors emphasise the wrong things at times. At least this reviewer feels the lack of theological training is a handicap when writing Church history and it becomes apparent in the present work.

This book is almost a pioneer in Louisiana Episcopal Church history. It is a distinct addition to our knowledge of the people and religion in Louisiana's past. It points the way to historians who can apply the tools of historic research and scholarship to a field which is largely unworked. To this end the Carters have made a valuable contribution and fulfilled well the task assigned to them. This reviewer recommends *So Great A Good* to the attention of others who will

write the history of all religious groups in Louisiana on a more critical basis.

St. Augustine Episcopal Church
Baton Rouge, Louisiana ROBERT C. WITCHER

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